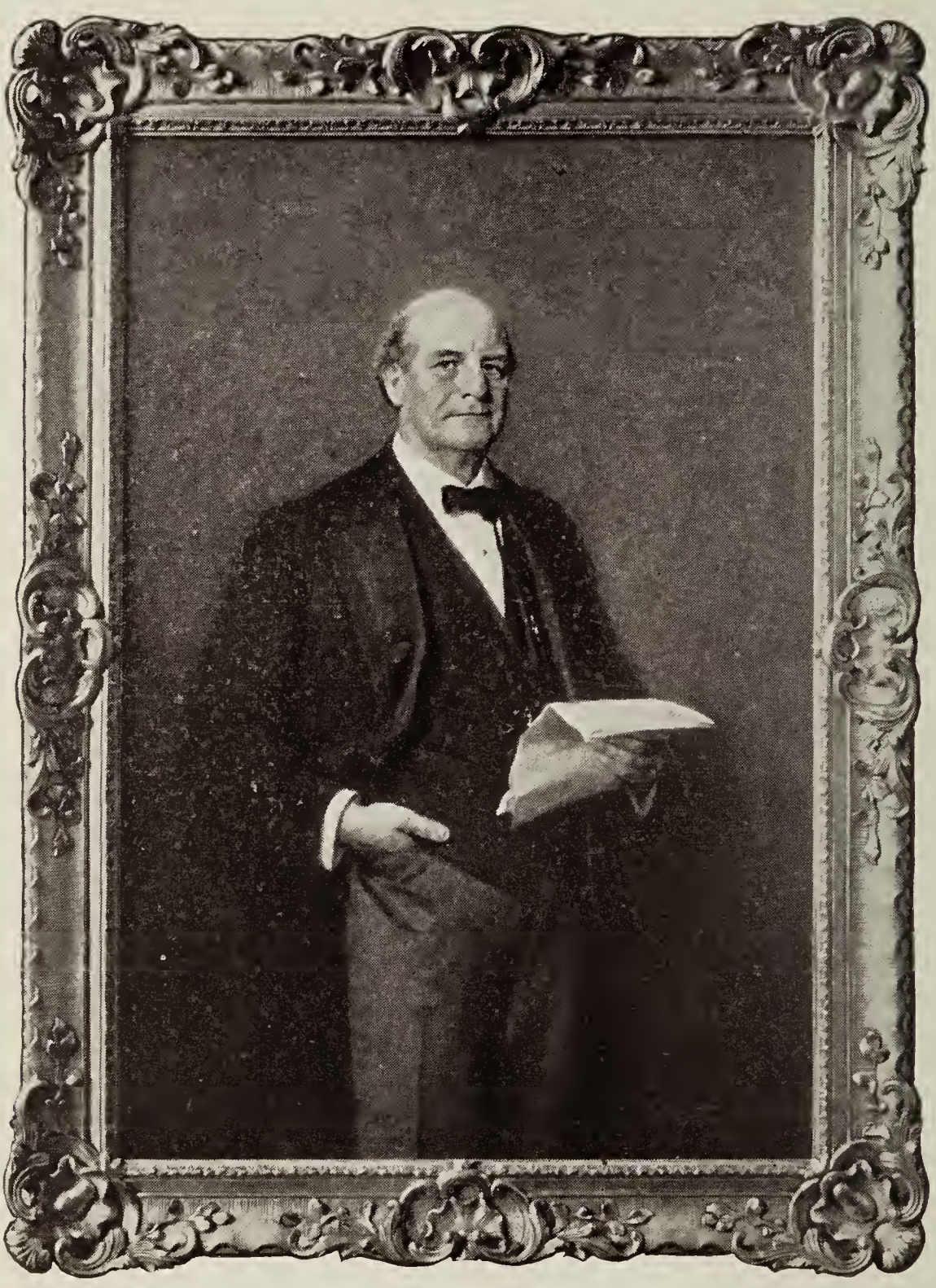
WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

Wayne C. Williams

William Jennings Bryan



Hon. William Jennings Bryan

(Photograph of portrait painted for the State Department by Irving G. Wiles of New York. It represents Mr. Bryan in the act of presenting to foreign Ambassadors and Ministers his peace plan, which is now embodied in thirty peace treaties with nations exercising authority over three-fourths of the population of the world.)

William Jennings Bryan

A Study in Political Vindication

By
WAYNE C. WILLIAMS

NEW YORK CHICAGO
Fleming H. Revell Company
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

New York: 158 Fifth Avenue
Chicago: 17 North Wabash Ave.
London: 21 Paternoster Square
Edinburgh: 75 Princes Street

To the Memory
of
MY FATHER
Who Taught Me the Meaning
of Democracy

Foreword

THIS book is not intended as a biography of its subject—William Jennings Bryan. While it covers his public career and is, therefore, partly biographical, it is written with a distinct purpose—to prove that events have vindicated his views and principles.

Mr. Bryan would be the last to claim undue credit for the triumph of the great reforms in which he has been interested; he has always been most generous in praise of others who have fought with him for cherished principles, showing a commendable anxiety to see his principles triumph rather than himself exalted.

No other man in American public life has ever lived to see so many of his ideas and reforms accepted by his political opponents and the people at large and established in the fundamental law and institutions of the land as has Mr. Bryan. And no other political leader in American politics (possibly in the world) has ever stood such a storm of criticism or survived such vigorous attacks as has the subject of this book. The astonishing political vitality of Mr. Bryan deserves careful study.

It has been the unhappy lot of most men who seek reform either to be laughed off the stage or die full of disappointment over the failure of their

fellow-men to see the thing which they had seen. History is filled with leaders who, too far in advance of their time, were crucified by their own generation and immortalized by succeeding generations.

But this disappointment has not come to Mr. Bryan, for he has seen his ideas embodied in the fundamental law of the land; his personality grow with his own generation; his principles become more and more popular both at home and abroad. This is due in part to his early entrance into the place of greatest prominence in our national life; to the rapidity and extent of our modern means of communication, to the power of his eloquence and the faith in his inherent honesty of purpose and deep sincerity of conviction.

Most men in America enter on the stage of public life too late to see their ideas reach maturity and fruition in their own time.

Time is the great adjuster, proving and testing men and issues in a crucible that is infallible. The man and the issue of the hour live but for a day; only the eternal principles of right and justice abide and endure.

"A man is an atom; he is born, he acts and dies; but principles are eternal," said Mr. Bryan in one of his Convention speeches and it is the great fundamentals of human welfare that alone can stand the test of time.

W. C. W.

Denver, Colorado.

Contents

"Of what a statesman may be responsible for I allow the utmost scrutiny; I deprecate it not. What are his functions? To observe things in the beginning, to foresee and foretell them to others—this I have done."

—*Demosthenes "Oration on the Crown."*

I

DEMOCRACY'S LAWGIVER

FROM July 9, 1896, to 1916 and almost to the present hour, William Jennings Bryan has been the leader of the Democratic party and from 1896 to 1912 its sole leader. As leader and candidate in three presidential campaigns; as the arbiter of the other three campaigns; as the writer of four of its six platforms; and as the directing spirit of at least one of the remaining two platforms, we may well seek to comprehend the compelling influence of this man upon the political life of his generation.

Excepting only Henry Clay, he has led his party longer than any other man in American public life. For an entire generation his ideas have dominated Democratic councils and inspired Democratic platforms. Thrice defeated, consigned to oblivion on numerous occasions, politically buried at a score of funerals, he yet manifests an astonishing political vitality that awaits explanation.

The Presidency could offer Mr. Bryan but few attractions compared with the exalted platform from which he now influences public life. Why should a leader of public opinion, whose record is almost without a parallel, exchange this sure

record of triumphs for the uncertainties of the Presidency where the blunder of a single subordinate or a mistake in the choice of a single official might mar the record?

Why change the prestige of a Henry Clay for the empty honours of a Millard Fillmore? Who has a real place in American history—Daniel Webster or John Tyler? Of course, Bryan would not be a Fillmore or a Tyler, but I mention these names to show that of itself the Presidency brings neither lasting fame nor personal happiness. To desire the Presidency for solid achievement, for results—that is worth while; but to desire it for mere glory or fame, just to be pointed out or deferred to—that is quite a different thing.

The most remarkable thing about the Bryan leadership is not even the fact of that leadership, unprecedented as that may be. The remarkable thing is the vindication of the Bryan views and policies. Probably no other man in history has advocated so wide a program and then lived to see his principles receive such universal approval and adoption as has Mr. Bryan.

Certainly, this is not true of any other political leader who has had to depend upon public opinion and the votes of self-governing peoples to carry out his ideas. A monarch of the old, autocratic days might acquire an idea some fine morning and put it into power before night by imperial decree, but in a democracy, a leader must impress his ideas upon men only by reason and persuasion and by the force and value of those ideas.

Unless his principles commend themselves to those who listen to him, he has no following and cannot realize achievement by having those principles become law. Mr. Bryan on the public platform, reasoning and pleading with his fellow-men for great ideals of government and humanity forms the true measure of the political advances of this generation, the climax of democracy in government.

As a background for the claim that Bryan has been vindicated in his views, let us first examine what his views are and see how they have been accepted by his party. Mr. Bryan joined in writing the Democratic platform of 1896. He was directly responsible for the platforms of 1900 and 1908, on which he again ran for the Presidency. He materially assisted in framing the platform of 1904.

He helped to write the platform of 1912 on which Mr. Wilson successfully ran for the Presidency; many of his ideas were written into that platform and the platform of 1916. We are not now speaking of governmental measures and policies and laws. We are speaking of the giver of law to the Democratic party. A consideration of the governmental measures which represent the Bryan ideas will come later. The Chicago platform of 1896 contained the following planks:

1. Bimetallism.
2. Tariff for revenue only.
3. Income tax.

4. No importation of pauper labour.
5. Arbitration of disputes of interstate railway employees.
6. Enlargement of powers of interstate commerce commission; enlarged control of railroads.
7. Opposition to government by injunction.
8. Monroe doctrine to be maintained.
9. No third term in the presidential office.
10. Fixed term in civil service.
11. Federal government to improve the Mississippi River and internal waterways.

These principles and planks will repay careful study. Aside from the Civil Service plank, they have all been adopted or realized in substance, and time in some manner or another has vindicated them.

Bimetallism never did have so great a vindication as at that hour in world commerce; when the gold dollar became a fifty-cent dollar, nations were clamouring for silver. The Federal Reserve Act, to the passing of which Bryan contributed so much, destroyed the grip of Wall Street financiers on the currency of the nation.

Tariff for revenue only has been the law of the land. The income tax is in force. Bryan fought for it actively from 1894 to 1913. It is significant that Mr. Bryan had to fight the battle for an income tax practically alone, and that for twenty-one years he led the fight for the amendment for elec-

tion of Senators by the people. While Bryan held his party in line, very largely, for these two popular amendments he had the bitter opposition of conservatives in both parties and of the Republican party as a whole. Taft was against the income tax amendment, finally advocating it when Congress submitted it, but urging that it never be used except in an emergency. During his term President Roosevelt never came out for it, except indirectly. In his speech of acceptance in 1908 Taft came out against an income tax. Roosevelt never favoured popular election of Senators until 1910, and indeed did but little to aid that amendment. The income tax amendment was ratified and the proclamation signed by Secretary Knox in 1913, a few weeks before Mr. Bryan became Secretary of State and Bryan himself signed the proclamation for the popular election of Senators amendment shortly after he took office.

Neither Mr. Hughes nor Mr. Harding favoured the income tax amendment, Hughes strenuously opposing it as Governor of New York.

America is paying the penalty at this hour for the importation of pauper labour.

If we had had a law for the arbitration of railway wage disputes, the Adamson law and its attendant crisis would never have confronted America, and in the great industrial crisis looming before the government the United States has no law to meet it.

Enlarging the powers of the interstate commerce commission: the great fight of President

Roosevelt in 1905 and 1906 was over this very question and Roosevelt was Bryan's most bitter opponent in 1896, and Bryan was Roosevelt's most valuable aid in securing it.

Shall we enlarge governmental control of the railroads? Unquestionably it will be further enlarged, even the most hardened reactionary admits. The only difference of opinion is as to what form future governmental control will assume.

Government by injunction has been curbed by law. Can any one recall the fierce and bitter storm of criticism that broke over the head of Bryan in 1896 for this reform which is now a part of the law of the land? Yet, in the September number of the *Review of Reviews,* 1896, Roosevelt said: "The men who object to what they style 'government by injunction' are as regards the essential principles of government in hearty sympathy with their remote, skin-clad ancestors who lived in caves and fought one another with stone-headed axes, and ate the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros."

In 1900, the Bryan platform had a plank demanding a new currency law, and we secured it in 1914. It declared for a department of labour in the Cabinet (the first platform demand of the kind made by a prominent party) and a union man bearing a union card sits in the Cabinet with the President in Washington at this hour. It declared for an inter-oceanic canal.

It declared for storing water to irrigate and improve the arid lands of the West, the forerunner of the great reclamation project. It declared

against ship subsidies, a position from which the nation has not retreated.

When we add to these substantial achievements the successful Bryan fight for campaign publicity before elections, for initiative and referendum, and his aid in the movement for a child labour law, we have a substantial program to command the attention of the men who must write the political history of this generation. Here is credit enough for any single life, but the main chapters are yet to be written.

The great achievements have not been recounted. Between 1896 and 1902, new issues were thrust upon the country. The issues of the trusts and imperialism, the serious problem of colonial expansion. Upon these two issues Mr. Bryan took advanced and decisive ground, and upon them he has received his greatest vindication.

II

WORLD CONQUEST AND WORLD WAR

WE come now to the most important epoch in Mr. Bryan's life—the influence of his views and his career upon the question of imperialism. It is hardly too much to say that the issue of imperialism was a personal issue with Mr. Bryan. We do not mean to say that there would have been no issue had he not raised it or that no one else would have been found fighting on his side of the question, because many able men took the same view but no outstanding American political leader took a stand upon the issue until Mr. Bryan had spoken; and he alone possessed the influence and driving power to accomplish what he did accomplish in the solution of this question. Whether we measure the issue of imperialism by the interest it aroused, or by the permanency of its influence upon the life of nations or by its effect upon the destinies of peoples; no matter how we look at this grave question, it becomes a critical issue of the ages when considered in its widest implications. For the issue involves a nation's entire attitude toward all other nations; it comprehends the whole national motive, purpose and impulse.

What are nations for? Why have peoples

erected governments? Do they exist to prey on other nations? Must the weak submit to the strong? Do larger nations have some inherent right in their process of growth and expansion to overrun and terrorize and subdue weaker nations? Is there any moral law governing them, such as governs and controls individuals? Is a state controlled by God's laws in a way that a human being is controlled by them?

These are far-reaching questions. They concern the ultimate destiny of mankind and of government. They were vitally involved in the great struggle out of which we are just emerging.

Measured by these standards, then, we say that the issue of imperialism as it was raised in America by William Jennings Bryan is the greatest issue to which his career has ever been related, and represents in its widest implications the great issue that confronts all nations for all time.

Let us stand on clear ground. What do we mean by imperialism? The technical definition of imperialism as related to America's entrance upon that policy is: The government of alien colonies by the United States outside of the Constitution. Stated in its wider aspects, imperialism is "the conquest or subjugation of one nation by another through militaristic force."

This is the issue which was raised by the great war and the two are different phases of the same question. The career of Mr. Bryan with respect to the issue of imperialism divides itself both logically and chronologically into three periods:

First. Educating the Democratic party.
Second. Educating the American nation.
Third. Educating the people of the world.

Educating the Democratic Party

It will be admitted by every historian who writes of a period twenty years ago that the question of imperialism was thrust upon us unexpectedly. It sprang in a moment out of the issues of war. Practically no one foresaw it, but the war came, Dewey sank the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and the Philippines were firmly in our grasp—the prize of war. America stood at the threshold of Asia and for the first time in our history we exercised sea control outside of the natural, historic boundaries of the United States. Before very many saw the issue which was before us, and before any other public leader of prominence in either party had taken a stand, Mr. Bryan, speaking at the Auditorium in Omaha, Nebraska, declared against the annexation of the Philippine Islands and against the policy of expansion. He was then raising a regiment for the Spanish War.

Let us speak frankly as well as truly. The Democratic party was not then with Mr. Bryan. Roughly speaking, the party divided itself in sentiment about as follows:

The East was largely anti-imperialistic and many of the prominent leaders who had opposed Mr. Bryan in 1896 on the financial issue were with him on the issue of expansion.

The Middle West was fairly evenly divided. It

did not have its mind made up fully, but evinced strong leanings toward expansion, especially while the war-fever was so strong in the nation.

The trans-Mississippi country and the Far West were literally wild for expansion. The farther west one went, the stronger the sentiment became and the party on the Pacific Coast was almost of one mind in favour of acquiring and retaining this subject nation.

It is, therefore, within the limits of accurate history to say that when Mr. Bryan left the army after the conclusion of peace to fight for the principles on the public platform in December, 1898, the Democratic party was not with him on the subject of expansion.

The writer submits that this was the hour which furnished the supreme test of Mr. Bryan's political leadership. No higher test of courage or of leadership could come to a man than Mr. Bryan was subjected to in that hour. The opportunity for clever trimming was never so good. The inducement to offend nobody was never so powerful as then. Mr. Bryan was thirty-eight years of age and admittedly the idol of his party. He had everything to lose and nothing to gain by taking an advanced stand on a question that had just been raised. How easy to have been a "pussy-footer"! How easy to have gone around the country saying oracular things that looked both ways in order to first find out how party sentiment stood and to learn how the wind was blowing! But Mr. Bryan was never a follower. His convictions had long

been matured. He applied to the policy of America the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. He believed that a nation was governed by the same moral laws of right and wrong as an individual; that no nation can afford to do wrong, that no great nation can afford to covet the land and the trade of a weaker nation. Here was a new type of leadership. Here was a man who on every other issue held six million Democrats in the hollow of his hand, the latest candidate of his party for President with a personal popularity unparalleled in the history of American politics. But none of these things swerved Bryan for a moment. Without waiting to consult other leaders or find out the trend of sentiment in his own party, Mr. Bryan took his stand against imperialism. He campaigned the nation; he brought the party to him; he wrote his views on this subject in the Democratic national platforms of 1900, 1904, 1908, and 1912. He lived to see his principles enacted by Congress, the Philippines given a declaration of their right to self-government and independence, and his ideas vindicated and approved by those who had been his bitterest opponents.

Vindication enough for one lifetime, surely! Certainly so! But his greatest vindication did not come in the realization and admission by the American people that his views upon imperialism in the Philippines were correct. His greatest vindication came in that hour when the mightiest military nation in history by one thunderbolt sought to impose its imperialistic will by force upon an unsus-

pecting world; and in four years of savage warfare there was hammered out upon the iron anvil of war the eternal doctrines that forever destroy the imperialistic principles in the life of men and nations.

But Mr. Bryan's first task was really his hardest one, and that was to educate his party to his own views. He risked his popularity, he risked his leadership, he risked his future candidacy for the presidency. He threw them all into the balance and started out to convince the Democratic party that his views were correct. Here was a leader who carefully reasoned out his position on a new public question, who surveyed the whole life of a generation, who looked upon men and nations and issues with a far-seeing eye, and then, without consulting popular opinion, went into his own library and closet, consulted his deepest convictions about religion and life, and with an unanswerable reason based upon moral principles, reached a definite conclusion and announced his ideas to his party and the world: not saying: "Which way are you marching?" "Where is the head of the procession?", but saying: "Here I take my stand," and "He that is not with me is against me."

Mr. Bryan resigned from the army December 14, 1898, saying, among other things:

"Now that the treaty of peace has been concluded I believe that I can be more useful to my country as a civilian than as a soldier.

"Our nation is in greater danger now than is Cuba.

. . . The imperialistic idea is directly antagonistic to the ideas and ideals which have been cherished by the American people since the signing of the Declaration of Independence. A nation cannot endure, half republic and half colony. It would be easier to ratify the treaty and deal with the question in our own way. The issue can be presented directly by a resolution of Congress declaring the policy of the nation upon this subject. Such a resolution would make a clear-cut issue between the doctrine of self-government and the doctrine of imperialism."

Mr. Bryan advocated the passage of the Bacon resolution (introduced January 11, 1899) making precisely this declaration but it was defeated in the Senate by one vote. The resolution submitted read:

"Resolved further, that the United States hereby disclaim any disposition or intention to exercise permanent sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the said islands, and assert their determination, when a stable and independent government shall have been erected therein, entitled in the judgment of the government of the United States to recognition as such, to transfer to said government, upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and to thereupon leave the government and control of the islands to their people."

(Vote on amendment, 2/14/99, page 1846. Yeas, 29. Nays, 29. Chair—Vice-President Hobart—voted "nay" and declared amendment lost.)

Had it been then adopted the whole future of the history of our relation to the Philippines would have been different. It needs only one other and

later historical recital to conclude the record. This declaration was adopted by a Democratic House and Senate in 1913, and no Republican President or Congress has dared advocate its repeal. It stands as the declared and avowed purpose of America, our reaffirmation of our devotion to the ideals of self-government that has made us the nation that we are.

Mr. Bryan was criticized because he advocated ratification of the treaty which gave us the Philippines. His reply was given in his acceptance speech in 1900:

"In view of the criticism which my action aroused in some quarters, I take this occasion to restate the reasons given at that time. I thought it safer to trust the American people to give independence to the Filipinos than to trust the accomplishment of that purpose to diplomacy with an unfriendly nation.

"Lincoln embodied an argument in the question when he asked, 'Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws?' I believe that we are now in a better position to wage a successful contest against imperialism than we would have been had the treaty been rejected. With the treaty ratified a clean-cut issue is presented between a government by consent and a government by force, and imperialists must bear the responsibility for all that happens until the question is settled.

"If the treaty had been rejected the opponents of imperialism would have been held responsible for any international complications which might have arisen before the ratification of another treaty. But whatever difference of opinion may have existed as to the best method of opposing a colonial policy, there never was any difference as to the great impor-

tance of the question and there is no difference now as to the course to be pursued.

"The title of Spain being extinguished we were at liberty to deal with the Filipinos according to American principles. The Bacon resolution, introduced a month before hostilities broke out at Manila, promised independence to the Filipinos on the same terms that it was promised to the Cubans. I supported this resolution and believe that its adoption prior to the breaking out of hostilities would have prevented bloodshed, and that its adoption at any subsequent time would have ended hostilities.

"If the treaty had been rejected considerable time would have necessarily elapsed before a new treaty could have been agreed upon and ratified, and during that time the question would have been agitating the public mind. If the Bacon resolution had been adopted by the Senate and carried out by the President, either at the time of the ratification of the treaty or at any time afterwards, it would have taken the question of imperialism out of politics and left the American people free to deal with their domestic problems. But the resolution was defeated by the vote of the Republican Vice-President, and from that time to this a Republican Congress has refused to take any action whatever in the matter."

The Bryan campaign (of 1900) was one of the most brilliant personal and political campaigns in the political history of any country. From Boston to San Francisco, from Minneapolis to New Orleans, Mr. Bryan was heard in all the great centers of the nation. There is no doubt that his wide personal popularity not only brought him great audiences, but predisposed the Democratic masses in his favour. But he encountered bitter opposi-

tion, and a wild passion aroused by the war which demanded the fruits of victory. The most difficult sentiment in the world to overcome is the war passion which demands the fruits of conquest, because the man who favours retaining the fruits of war can hide behind the Flag.

"The Flag is in the Philippines. Who will haul it down?" This was the battle cry of the opposition and we must submit it is the most attractive and effective battle cry which could have been devised. It was harder to meet than a ton of argument. Mr. Bryan's greatest task was in the West. He said when he came to Denver in January of 1899: "I have come to Denver with the understanding that the West is wild for the annexation of the Philippines." Mr. Bryan was right. He literally had to change opinions which had been forged in the white heat of war; but he changed them. Gradually the leaders began to see the strength of his views. They began to realize that this nation must never embark upon an imperialistic adventure and gradually the sentiment began to veer in his direction. Mr. Bryan was greatly helped by the attitude of President McKinley and the Republican administration, for, with some notable exceptions, they were rapidly ranging themselves on the side of expansion. Mr. Bryan asked that the treaty of peace contain a declaration favourable to the independence of the Philippines, but he was beaten. President McKinley came out outspokenly for the permanent retention of the Philippine Islands. Senator Beveridge and Vice-

President Roosevelt, then a candidate and one of the leaders of his party, were merciless in their criticism of the Nebraskan leader. They declared that the Philippines were ours forever, that God directed the battle, that Providence gave us the Philippines and embarked us upon a course of imperialism. The Filipinos fought, they resisted the yoke of a foreign nation, a war followed, but the force of America finally subdued those who struggled for liberty. The conscience of the nation was with Bryan but the pocketbook of the nation was against him. By January of 1900, the Democratic party was substantially in accord with its leader and the Republican party was united in favour of imperialism. The lines of battle were definitely drawn and extended. The opposing ideas are found in the platforms of the two parties and the position of the Democratic party has never been altered. The Republicans gave no hope whatever to the Filipinos and they approved the use of force to destroy the sentiment of self-government. With fine scorn, Mr. Bryan said: "I want to know whether the mothers of this land have no higher ambition for their sons than to raise them up and send them across the seas to fight the ideas of freedom in a foreign land in order that somebody may get railroad franchises."

Thus was the issue joined and the campaign that followed was clean, educative and intensive in the extreme. Our foreign policy was the issue. But Champ Clark described the attitude of America when he told how in a political meeting he had

shown the wrongful course which America was embarking upon and a farmer in the crowd said, "Well, I guess we can stand it as long as hogs are at a high price per pound." This argument carried the Mississippi Valley against the Bryan ideas on imperialism. When the Democratic party was defeated, Mr. Bryan's opponents said his career was over. He had picked upon an issue and had lost it. Now he would abandon this issue, but even if he retained it, his career was over.

Mr. Bryan's career would have been ended if he had based it upon a wrong issue, for a public man rises or falls by the strength of the principles he advocates. No amount of brilliant personality or stirring oratory or clever wit can ever make a public man survive. He must rise or fall by his principles. Here is the secret of Mr. Bryan's political longevity. He is constantly receiving a new vindication in the adoption of these principles. He took the right side of the question of imperialism, not the popular side, not the warlike side, not the side which people favoured who are aroused to a passion by war; but the right side.

"Is it right?"

This is what Lincoln said in his immortal debate with Douglas and "this is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Douglas and myself shall be silent."

A man can afford to lose the Presidency if he is on the right side of an issue, but no man can afford to win the Presidency of the United States on the wrong side of an issue.

Educating the American Nation

Mr. Bryan was educating the nation when he was educating the Democratic party but a long period of further education was necessary from a non-partisan platform; and this Mr. Bryan accomplished. With the Republican party in power in all branches of the government, the policy of imperialism went on uncrushed and unchecked. Rebellion was crushed. The supreme court sustained the policy in the Downes case, and the Philippines were to all intents and purposes the property of the United States forever.

But the heart of America was disturbed and uneasy. Our policy of imperialism did not square with our revolutionary principles and teachings. There was a moral factor involved and while the desire for markets and the greed of conquest and the spirit of war were still powerful, yet there was a moral issue involved and slowly but surely this moral issue began to enter the mind and heart of America and to resist the materialism which had so thoroughly infused itself into all our national and personal life. Many factors contributed to this change:

1. The policy of America did not square with her historic traditions and principles.
2. Mr. Bryan's unceasing attacks upon the policy of imperialism.
3. The Russo-Japanese war and concurrent developments in the Orient.

4. The steady aggressions of Japan and Russia in Korea and China.
5. The progress of the Filipinos toward self-government, thus confirming Mr. Bryan's views.
6. Even as early as 1907, Mr. Roosevelt in a presidential message declared that it was his plan to permit the Filipinos to have self-government, "after the fashion of the really free peoples." Sentiment was changing. The Filipinos themselves came to the bar of Congress to plead their cause.

In 1912 upon an anti-imperialistic plank written by Mr. Bryan, the Democratic party found itself in power. The Filipinos' promised independence was already in sight. Congress passed a resolution declaring the nation's purpose toward the Philippines. Even without any outside event happening, the nation was slowly but surely gravitating toward the position taken by Mr. Bryan in 1900.

And it was this resolution, the Jones resolution, as first advocated in essence by Mr. Bryan and finally adopted after he had written the promise into four platforms of his party, that placed America in the right relation to the Filipinos, prevented this nation from embarking upon a policy of imperialism and saved America from ever being classed with those nations which, in the past, have sought conquest.

But a far greater vindication was at hand. Out

of the great loom of Time on which is woven the destiny of nations, was coming the World War, and out of it was coming a vindication for Bryan ideas surpassing any vindication any political leader has had in probably any age of world-history. It is enough to say that the World War reversed the opinion of America on the question of imperialism and changed the standards, principles and ideas of the nations of the world—a change so profound and vast that the historian of this present day cannot adequately measure it—and the change which has come over the dream of the world is a change from an attitude favouring imperialism to an attitude directly against that policy and sustaining and vindicating the policies and principles of William Jennings Bryan. It is difficult to view the question of imperialism in the light of the World War and to realize that we ever held to the view that a strong and powerful nation could impose its will upon a weaker nation by force of arms. The Great War has caused the whole world to revise its opinions on nearly every question relating to the life of nations and of peoples. It has literally melted and remoulded the judgments, the thoughts and the impulses of mankind. But on no subject has it so definitely and concretely revolutionized opinions as on the question which we define by the one word "imperialism." The war was so revolutionary and casuistic that it compelled a re-examination of nearly every question; and we in America have re-examined our views upon the right of any nation to sub-

jugate another nation. In the lurid light of the great conflict upon the plains of France and Belgium, we see the whole matter of imperialism in a new form. Instead of the glories of war, instead of the conquest for markets, instead of a competitive mad rush of nations for the trade of weaker peoples, we see emerging into view the banner of the cross, the kindly hand, the brotherly spirit stretching itself over the nations of the world. "Above the din and clang of war we hear the deep undertone" of the songs of humanity chanting the praises of the Prince of Peace.

In the light of the gigantic attempt of Germany to subdue the world by force and to realize the imperialistic ambitions of her war lord the stand of Mr. Bryan in 1896 and 1900 seems almost inspired. This is not saying that American occupation of the Philippines is at all comparable to German military invasions and conquests. Far from it. Our great republic has not shown this ruthlessness and American occupation has resulted in vast good to the Filipinos, which they willingly acknowledge. Mr. Bryan never asked that America relinquish the islands to any foreign prey but only that while helping them in brotherly fashion to get on their feet we do so with a declaration that we entertained no designs of permanent control over them and that in due time we intended them to be free, even as we are free. And there never was any doubt as to what would be the ultimate policy of a democracy like America. The Filipinos themselves have had the good sense to see this. But America needs

to be careful to disclaim the imperialistic motive, as she did with Cuba, and then by her acts to live up to her high declaration of principles. Germany was the spirit of imperialism personified. Her aims were all imperialistic. She conceived the war from imperialistic ambitions. She constructed it on imperialistic principles. She fought it to achieve imperialistic ends. Her worship of might and force, her cunning preparation, her thunderbolts launched upon an unsuspecting world, her invasion of Belgium and France, her attempt to impose her will on the world by force startled the moral, ethical, religious sentiment of the world and awakened America into a realization of the wrong and the danger that lie inherent in a policy of conquest. America turned again to the principles of Bryan and listened again to his voice pleading with this Republic to leave the false ideals of conquest, to give up purchasing trade with blood and to plant itself as a free nation upon the principles of Jesus Christ and the doctrines of human brotherhood. Let us think again of the brazen, arrogant declarations of the German military leaders and their war lord as their mighty armies swept over the defenseless peoples of Europe. Let us look at this nation so proud in its military force now humbled and conquered, with its imperialistic dream shattered; and in the light of this stupendous disaster, let us read again the words that in 1900 came from the mouth of Mr. Bryan:

"Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavour, and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbour's injury—a republic in which every citizen is sovereign, but in which no one cares to wear a crown.

"Behold a republic standing erect, while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved, while other flags are only feared.

"Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of a universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example, and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness.

"Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, 'is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.'"

But the greatest personal and political vindication which Mr. Bryan received came out of the mouth of his greatest opponent, Theodore Roosevelt. Why do we select Mr. Roosevelt? Because he had been the leader of the Republican party from September, 1901, until January of 1919, because he had controlled its destinies as few other men have, because he was one of the soundest thinkers this or any other nation has ever produced; because he had been most outspoken and violent in his criticism of Mr. Bryan and because he had changed his mind and came over to Mr.

Bryan's views in a way that few other political leaders ever have. In 1900, Mr. Roosevelt said of Mr. Bryan's views on imperialism:—in the Roosevelt letter accepting the Vice-Presidential nomination—

"The only certain way of rendering it necessary for our republic to enter onto a career of militarism would be to abandon the Philippines to their own tribes.

"The question is now, not whether we shall expand, but whether we shall contract. The Philippines are now part of American territory. To surrender them, would be to surrender American territory."

But in the light of the great war and of the dangerous position we occupied in the Orient if we attempted to hold the Philippines forever, Mr. Roosevelt, in his book "America and the World War," Chapter 9, page 160, written in the year 1915 and just fifteen years after he so bitterly attacked Bryan's policy in regard to the Philippines, said:

"I exclude the Philippines. This is because I feel that the present administration has definitely committed us to a course of action which will make the early and complete severance of the Philippines from us *not merely desirable but necessary.*

"I hope, therefore, that the Filipinos will be given their independence at an early date. . . .

"I do not believe we should keep any foothold whatever in the Philippines. Any kind of position by us in the Philippines merely results in making them our 'heel of Achilles' if we are attacked by a

foreign power. They can be of no compensating benefit to us."

Could vindication be greater? Could any man ask more of a generous political opponent than that he come out in this frank and open fashion and admit that whereas he was wrong his opponent was right, and that the views which he once condemned he now found it necessary to commend?

III

THE TRUSTS

WE come now to one of the most important periods in Mr. Bryan's life—the period of the fight to control the great trusts and combinations of the nation. The trusts had been growing, enlarging and spreading their power over new fields ever since 1885. They had become a power even as early as 1890. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law was a response to demand for legislation to curb their growing power and the feeling of alarm spreading over the nation in regard to them. The law had been largely a dead letter and by 1896 the feeling all over the nation was that some stronger remedy was needed. After the victory of the Republican party in 1896, the trusts grew and waxed fat with a rapidity and wielded a power that threatened the healthy commercial life of the nation. The trusts had elected their friends to power and they thought they could do as they pleased. They were right; and they did do as they pleased. They grew so arrogant and strong that conservative thinkers, even in the Republican party, saw that they must be curbed. It was this new sentiment developing even then in the Republican party which grew until it came to voice in the anti-trust campaign of President Theo-

dore Roosevelt in 1902 and 1907–1908 and which laid the foundations for the Roosevelt break and the Progressive party in 1912. That remarkable movement had its roots in the movement started away back in 1902 by Roosevelt for curbing the power of the trusts. Indeed, we may go back much further and say that it had its roots in the earlier agitation of Mr. Bryan for the prevention of trusts.

But this is leading us into fields far too wide for the limits of this chapter. We have not space or time to enter upon a general study of the political history of the country for the past twenty years. Such a history must some day be written by some impartial historian and if he really be impartial and set down facts with a clear and unbiased view he must give first place to William Jennings Bryan in discussing the anti-trust movement in America.

By the end of the Spanish-American war in 1898 and the entrance of the country into the year 1899 the thought of the nation turned to the trust question as probably the overshadowing domestic issue of the campaign of 1900. Indeed, had the war not thrust the question of imperialism into the forefront the trust question would have been the single issue of the campaign of 1900.

But in the summer and fall of 1899—just on the eve of the approaching presidential campaign —the prime economic question before the country centered around the trusts and the great debate of that year was on the question "What remedy can be found for trusts?"

Everybody in those days had a remedy. Some folks wanted to let them alone and let competition kill them; others wanted to make them over into law-proof and water-tight monopolies and let them run amuck, still others wanted the government to regulate them as combinations in restraint of trade. Others wanted to rely upon lawsuits alone, under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

It remained for Mr. Bryan to propose a new remedy. While on a visit to Colorado in August of 1899, Mr. Bryan was interviewed by the *Rocky Mountain News* of Denver and on August 28 of that year, on page two will be found a facsimile photograph print of his written statement of a remedy for the trusts. It is copied verbatim:

"The trusts can be destroyed whenever the people carry their hostility toward the trusts to the point of voting against them. One remedy, and I believe a complete one, can be found in a law which will require corporations to secure a license before doing business outside of the state in which they are organized. Such license can be issued upon conditions which will squeeze the water out of the stock and prevent monopoly.

"W. J. BRYAN."

This remedy deserves most careful reading. It is packed with meaning and force. It is one of the most comprehensive statements in the briefest form ever made on a great economic problem.

But, passing for a moment the merit of the proposition, let us see what became of the proposed remedy.

In the first place this was the very first proposal of such a remedy by anybody of prominence or importance in the nation. It was, indeed, the first time any such remedy had ever been so proposed. I do not mean to say that nobody had thought of it or ever mentioned it or that somewhere in some book some one may not have suggested such a remedy. What is meant is that no public man of prominence in America had, up to that time, suggested this remedy for trusts; no one has ever laid claim to priority over Mr. Bryan on this subject. Mr. Bryan is entitled to all the credit we can give him for he is the sole author of the remedy.

The reception accorded the Bryan remedy was exactly what might be expected from a press which was so largely hostile. The remedy was received with derision by the opposition papers generally. It was "vague and futile," "silly and impossible"; "It had been propounded by Mr. Bryan merely as a plank to catch votes, to get into the presidency with"; "to make a campaign issue"; "It was unheard of"; "No political economists were sanctioning it." No Republican leader would favour it because that would have been quite contrary to the general principles of party loyalty. The Democratic press generally was favourable with here and there some sober opposition editor who saw the merit of the proposal and frankly said so. But it was high treason for any Republican to endorse Bryan's views on anything. It is all right and perfectly proper and

patriotic to put his views into law and make them the fundamental policy of the land, provided you carefully keep the Bryan label off the goods.

In the fall of 1899, Mr. Bryan proposed the remedy at an anti-trust conference in Chicago where it received wide consideration and was accorded an enthusiastic hearing; it was after this speech that the proposal received genuine nation-wide attention. In the Chicago speech Mr. Bryan made another historic declaration. It was the opening sentence of that famous speech and, like the trust remedy, has a history of its own. Here it is: "I begin with the declaration that a monopoly in private hands is indefensible from any standpoint and intolerable. I make no exception to the rule." Neither the Democratic party nor its President, Mr. Wilson, has ever made any exceptions to this rule.

"A clever phrase," says some critic? A fact, granted that it is a phrase, but it is something more; it is a principle. No greater principle has ever been embodied in so few words on an economic issue. And in addition to being a principle it is a battle cry and in the domain of logic it is a starting point for the whole problem of the combinations in restraint of trade.

Mr. Bryan used unmistakable language; there is no escaping its meaning or its force. It defines a form of industry that cannot be accepted in our modern economic life in America. It is a definition of a class that must be excluded from our thinking. If a modern progressive American be-

gins a study of the trust problem and tries to clear up his thinking and find out where he stands he may take this sentence as a starting point and reason out the whole problem from here.

The sentence—"A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable"—has had a remarkable history, quite as remarkable as the Bryan remedy for trusts. It appeared in the Democratic platform in 1900, in 1904, and again verbatim in the platform of 1908 on which Bryan ran for the presidency and in the platform of 1912 on which Wilson was first elected to the Presidency. Moreover, President Wilson thought so well of it as a principle and a battle cry to rally the progressive forces that he used it in his letter of acceptance and in his trust message to Congress. In this special message, delivered on January 20, 1914, he said, "We are all agreed that 'private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable' and our program is founded upon that conviction."

In 1900, the trust issue was so overshadowed by the issue of imperialism that the remedy was not as widely discussed as it might have been.

But leave it to Father Time. He is the great modifier of opinion. He makes and moulds the minds of men in new and astonishing ways. Roosevelt succeeded to the presidency in the fall of 1901. That winter he named James R. Garfield as Commissioner of Corporations, a bureau under the Department of Commerce and Labour. In December, 1904, he made his report to his chief and that report was transmitted to Congress, being

Document No. 165 of the House of Representatives, dated December 21, 1904. The letter of transmittal is dated December 19, 1904. I quote from pages 44 and 48 of that document:

"This is one of two more practical methods suggested. It assumes the passage by Congress of a complete corporation law, with the compulsory requirement that all corporations engaged in interstate commerce shall be organized under such a law. . . . Such a law should have three principal features:

(*a*) The creation by Congress of corporations with power to engage in interstate commerce.

(*b*) The prohibition upon all other corporations from engaging in such commerce.

(*c*) The granting to such Federal Corporation the right to manufacture and produce.

The principal features of such a system would be:

(*a*) The granting of a Federal license or franchise to engage in such interstate commerce.

(*b*) The imposition of all necessary requirements as to corporation organization and management as a condition precedent to the grant of such franchise or license.

(*c*) The requirement of such reports and returns as may be desired, as a condition of the retention of such franchise or license.

(*d*) The prohibition of all corporations from engaging in interstate commerce without such license or franchise."

Mr. Garfield favoured the national incorporation of interstate commerce corporations; Mr. Bryan favoured the licensing of such incorporation but both had the same end in view.

President Roosevelt was giving just as much thought and attention to the trust question as was his Commissioner of Corporations. In December, 1906, he sent his annual message to Congress and on the trust question, among other things, he said:

"In some method, whether by a national license law or in other fashion, we must exercise, and that at an early date, a far more complete control than at present over these great corporations—a control that will, among other things, prevent the evils of excessive overcapitalization, compel the disclosure by each big corporation of its stockholders and of its properties and business."

In 1907 he again advocated this remedy with more elaboration.

Is it strange, therefore, that in 1908, the Democratic national platform, with Bryan as the candidate, should reëmphasize this remedy and make it a cardinal feature of the platform? It became one of the leading features of the campaign of 1908. Taft did not favour the remedy and so far never has. Governor Hughes, a later nominee of the Republican party for the Presidency, trained his heaviest guns upon the Bryan trust remedy. He attempted to have a great deal of fun with it and interested the people, as he travelled around the country using his remarkable analytical mind to pick supposed flaws in the plan, point out its theoretical dangers and limitations and possible situations that might arise whenever its practical operation was attempted. Of course, this is soft ground for any one. It is easy to take any remedy

that was ever proposed, from Christianity to the League of Nations, and, in advance of its actual operation, suggest all sorts of possible difficulties that might arise under it.

But the Democrats repeated and readopted the remedy again and endorsed it in the platform of 1912 and it remained for the Democratic President on that platform to finally give that plank official endorsement. In his message to Congress, in August of 1919, President Wilson, in discussing a remedy for trusts and trust profiteering, said:

"We should formulate a law requiring a federal license of all corporations engaged in interstate commerce and embodying in the license or conditions under which it is issued specific regulations designed to secure competitive selling and prevent unconscionable profits in the methods of marketing. . . . Such a law would afford a welcome opportunity to effect other much needed reforms in the business of interstate shipment and in the methods of corporations which are engaged in it."

We may therefore close this chapter of our discussion of the Bryan contributions to American political life and thought with this approval and endorsement of a Bryan remedy given by a great Democratic President. No higher approval could be found. What is the best test of a man's thinking, whether it be sound or good sense or of value to his generation?

Probably the very best test is for his ideas to be put into actual concrete practice and to succeed. Partisanship and an unwilling popular opinion have

not yet permitted a test of this plan of Mr. Bryan's in the national field though many of his ideas have already stood the test of actual practice.

But there are some other tests: Is the plan logical? Are the ideas sound? Do they accord with and fit facts, hard concrete facts as we find them in a very practical world? Do they fit in with the legal rules and constitutional modes of operation of our state and federal governments? These are real tests.

Now the very best test of whether ideas are sound and logical is found in the way they commend themselves to other sound thinking men, contemporaries of the man who puts forth the ideas. Of course, some prophet cries alone in the wilderness once in a while and later generations hear his voice and recognize his ideas. But we have a world mentally awake now and steam and lightning and invisible currents carry ideas to the four corners of earth in the flash of an eye. The whole world is thinking more clearly and thinking together, as it never did before.

Measured by this last test—by approval of his contemporaries, Mr. Bryan's remedy stands the test and becomes one of the greatest sources of vindication for him that he has ever enjoyed.

The Democrats have been long convinced. It remained to convince the Republicans. And when two such eminent Republican leaders and such clear thinkers as James R. Garfield and Theodore Roosevelt commend the same plan it must have merit and worth.

We submit that on a remedy for the trusts William J. Bryan has not only been Democracy's lawgiver; he has had as great a vindication as any public leader could ask at the hands of his own generation. And we will risk the prediction that a greater vindication on this very issue is yet to come.

IV

A DEMOCRATIC VIEW OF ROOSEVELT

THE reaction of Bryan and Roosevelt upon the careers of each other furnishes one of the striking contrasts of history. The enlarging picture of Theodore Roosevelt gains new lines from the perspective Time gives to it. The picture is looming larger each year; the lines are becoming clearer, not only because no man can have justice done him while he yet lives in the fierce heat of partisan strife, but also because new angles and new view-points come to be expressed when history is really given a chance at a man.

But a Democratic view of Roosevelt is yet to be written. What did the great Republican leader's opponents think of him? Contemporary history during the Roosevelt days furnishes poor answer. Indeed, who would think of finding the real measure of any man from what his political opponents said about him in the days when they were trying to keep him out of office and get themselves into office?

There was a Democratic opinion about Roosevelt, however, that was not vocal in his lifetime, not often heard in political campaigns and that marked the true view of most Americans about this remarkable American. That is the view I propose to give here. It is the view of Roosevelt

which finds him rejecting Mark Hanna reactionaryism after sharing in its rewards in 1900 and sees him develop into the leader of one of the most advanced national progressive movements since the Civil War. Theodore Roosevelt never stood still in his thinking or his political views; he was constantly growing and developing and his progress was away from Toryism toward Liberalism, using these terms in their wide political sense; from standpat, reactionary Republicanism toward broad, advanced Democratic progressivism. There are many who will object to these terms and who will deny that Theodore Roosevelt ever had anything in common with the reactionary or with the Democratic party. They are mistaken, as I hope here to show.

This development of Roosevelt from orthodox, hidebound Republicanism to Progressivism marks an era in American political life. It had a profound effect, not only on the campaigns of 1910, 1912, and thereafter, but it has left deep impress upon the future political life of the nation, the evidences of which are yet to be revealed.

It is a very important thing to know when Roosevelt actually became a progressive and why he became one. Victor Murdock once said that the Presidency made Roosevelt a progressive, and, broadly speaking, this must be true. Of course, no one moment, or year, or event, or speech can mark the change in a man's thinking—especially of the thinking of Theodore Roosevelt. Any natural development, either mental or otherwise, must be

gradual and so it was with Roosevelt. But the answer to the above question involves the delineation of the Democratic view-point, for the political evolution of Roosevelt is what makes the Democratic view of him interesting and important in an historical sense.

My own opinion has long been that Roosevelt was a progressive long before he realized or admitted it himself. He had the fundamental sympathies with men which mark the true progressive, and he had that broad outlook on human history which sees the upward struggle of humanity as the true measure of historic progress. And with a certain and true conception of this struggle of the common man to improve his lot, throw off his burdens and fully express his life, the true progressive applies this knowledge to present day problems of the hour to ascertain their relation to this age-long struggle of mankind and seeks to find in the concrete problems of the hour those measures which will correctly aid mankind in his upward struggle toward better things. This is what marks the real progressive. "Mankind has moved slowly upward through the ages, sometimes a little faster, sometimes a little slower, but rarely, indeed, by leaps and bounds. At times a great crisis comes in which a great people, perchance, led by a great man, can at white heat strike some mighty blow for the right—make a long stride in advance along the path of justice and orderly liberty," said Roosevelt in a speech. There are many men of great wealth, college training and with a real grasp of

the philosophical lessons of history who have an intellectual understanding of this historic viewpoint of man's upward struggle but their money and selfishness and ease and their acquired viewpoint make them refuse to apply the admitted truths of history to the concrete problems of the hour. They are willing to concede, in the abstract, truths which they flatly and vehemently deny when applied to their own time and their own interest. This is why it is of the deepest historic significance that Roosevelt was left a heritage of property by his father which enabled him to be free of either poverty or of inordinate wealth. He did not need to think of money in the terms in which a captain of industry or a scion of mere wealth or a very poor man usually does think of it. He could see money in its right proportion to the other things of life.

In addressing a meeting in Denver, Colonel Roosevelt once began in these words, "When I graduated from Harvard, I entered the New York Legislature and began my education."

And so he did, and the education was along strictly progressive lines. But whether Roosevelt then, or even some years after that, suspected that he was growing in a progressive direction it is quite certain that no Democrat suspected it. His legislative career began about 1881 and it was 1904 and 1905 before Democrats generally began to realize that a progressive leader sat in the President's chair.

No one who went through the campaign of

1896 will ever forget it, and it sounded political depths that have yet to make their final mark on American political thought and activity. But what we are here trying to convey as a background for a consideration of Roosevelt's growth was the fact that the first Bryan campaign was far from being merely a free silver campaign. It was a protest against the vicious activities and the autocratic, dangerous tendencies of organized wealth in America. The whole Bryan platform of 1896 shows this to be a fact. The very spirit of such a protest breathes in the great Bryan speech that swept the convention that year and in the platform that declared against banking control of the treasury, railroad control of industry and politics and court control of labour and the abuse of injunctions and in the plank about the Supreme Court and its income tax decision.

Against this radical deliverance and its plain and brilliantly speaking candidate the whole Republican organization set itself. It was a campaign of the apotheosis of wealth. Wall Street was magnified and glorified and it was rank treason to attack any court decision, to speak even mildly of injunctive abuses or to favour a tax on the rich. If ever the inordinately rich had their innings they had them in the 1896 campaign. And Roosevelt threw himself into the fight against "Bryanism" with all the fierce bitterness of his pugnacious nature.

Both parties came out of the campaign with a very definite view-point as to the relation of wealth and business to politics and the relation of courts

to all three and big business had its way from 1896 to 1901, enthroned in power in a way it has never known since and will probably never know again.

Now the whole evolution of Roosevelt, thereafter, was away from the standards, the ideals and principles of the Republican party in 1896 and in the direction of that group which protested against the sins of organized wealth. I am not now speaking of any double or single standard of money when I say this. The heart of the financial problem lay in the control of the money and credit of the country—a control which Wall Street reluctantly surrendered when the Federal Reserve Act was passed in the first Wilson administration, with the powerful aid of Bryan.

But the Democratic protest in 1896 went to the whole social, industrial structure of our national fabric of wealth and put squarely to the people of the nation the question of who should control our wealth and our business relations. The result was an overwhelming victory for the powerful financial forces of the nation but with that we are not now concerned. We are discussing the relation of Theodore Roosevelt to that contest and the views of Democrats about him.

The Democrats all regarded Roosevelt as hopeless. They classed him with the most extreme reactionaries. Nothing happened in the campaign of 1900 to change our opinion although the Roosevelt fight for a tax on franchises in New York ought to have opened our eyes somewhat. Maybe

one state was too small or the setting not to our liking. Roosevelt gave no direct symptom of having seen our point of view. He was in the closest communion with the Wall Street crowd, as we called them, in so far as we knew.

Roosevelt came into the Presidency in 1901 but all through the campaign of 1902 and his tour of the country in the early spring of 1903 we still regarded him as bound to the reactionaries. He stood for the Republican tariff views, and while he began a campaign of publicity for the trusts the Democrats were all backing the Bryan remedy in which publicity was such a minor issue that we regarded publicity as a mere sop, thrown to the public, a red herring drawn across the trail. We never realized that behind publicity lay a Roosevelt fight against the very enemies of the people we were then attacking.

The new President was already sounding the battle cry but as we now look back upon that time we cannot see why we then failed to appreciate the significance of his words. In 1902 in a speech at Provincetown, R. I., on August 23, 1902, and found in "Addresses and Presidential Messages" (Putnam), page 13, Roosevelt said:

"It is not true that the poor have grown poorer; but some of the rich have grown so very much richer that, where multitudes of men are herded together in a limited space, the contrast strikes the onlooker as more violent than formerly."

Speaking of the trusts, he said: "The great corporations which we have grown to speak of rather

loosely as trusts are the creatures of the State, and the State not only has the right to control them, but it is in duty bound to control them whenever the need of such control is shown."

The presidential campaign of 1904 brought no decided symptom of change. The campaign of that year was fought on the Roosevelt personality and upon very general lines, upon old lines, we may properly say, and nothing that the President said in his campaign speeches or acceptance address indicated to us a changed Roosevelt. The Bryan fight on Parker at St. Louis in the Democratic convention of 1904 made Roosevelt's election as certain as anything in history could well be, even if the President had not possessed a personality which had already captivated the nation.

In a speech at Harrisburg, Pa., in 1906, dedicating the new Capitol building, Roosevelt gave the Democrats a surprising and unexpected revelation. In a single phrase, discussing the relation of the State to business and condemning a class government, he said:—"We want no mere 'Wall Street civilization.'"

The use of the phrase "Wall Street civilization" was a real event in the current political history of that time. It sometimes happens that a word or phrase reveals mental attitudes of startling significance. Unquestionably the rank and file of the Democrats felt that the President was seeing things as they had seen them when they read his phrase in the Harrisburg address.

When did the Democrats finally wake up to

Roosevelt's progressivism? It was revealed to us in the message to Congress on December 5th, 1905 —the famous railroad message—"The fortunes amassed through corporate organization are now so large, and vest such power in those that wield them as to make it a matter of necessity to give to the sovereign—that is the Government, which represents the people as a whole—some effective power of supervision over their corporate use. In order to insure a healthy social and individual life every big corporation should be held responsible by and be accountable to some sovereign strong enough to control its conduct."

"I do not believe in the government interfering with private businesses more than is necessary. But neither do I believe in the government flinching from overseeing any work when it becomes evident that abuses are sure to obtain therein, unless there is governmental supervision."

This message recommended (1) extending power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to control railroad rates; (2) put all private car lines under the Interstate Commerce Commission; (3) stop rebates; (4) passes; (5) safety appliances; (6) shorter hours of labour; (7) employer's liability law.

The fight began the day that message was read to Congress. The message opened the eyes of the Democrats of the country. Wherever Democrats met, in cross roads, country stores, in factories, in parlours, in newspaper offices, there was universal comment that the President was right and that

he was leaning our way. He had seen the light, and was coming to our view. Naturally there was a lot of self-gratification and private exultation in all this which was unseemly for any American to indulge in but for any one who appreciates the bitterness of the attack (amounting far too often to social ostracism) upon Democrats who followed Bryan in 1896 and the anathemas any man brought down on his head when he attacked Wall Street or the railroads, the Democrats may be pardoned for a little self-glorification when Roosevelt swung his artillery around and opened up on the great railroad magnates and the "malefactors of great wealth" in that famous message. There is not time to delineate every feature of the contest—this is not written with that purpose. It is enough to say that from that day on, the President began a triumphant march toward the Democratic battle line and as the fight grew hotter the President's utterances grew stronger and less restrained until, by the spring of 1908, he was talking like a true Bryan radical and behind him stood four-fifths, yes, seven-eighths of the nation in his fight against a truculent and powerful Wall Street coalition. What a delight to Democrats who had stood all the bitterness of attack and abuse to see a great Republican President flaying right and left among his party associates, openly denouncing the wrongs of big business and declaring for a country in which no man, either rich or poor, stood above the law. It was a great day for the Democrats. It was a greater day for America. It may prove to

have been the very thing and the one thing that will save us from a wave of Bolshevism now.

As the battle waxed hotter between Roosevelt and the reactionaries within his party (and we may add the reactionaries in the Democratic party) the President's utterances grew more pointed and stronger. The President asked for the power to be given to the Interstate Commerce Commission to decide in a given case whether a given rate of a railroad is unreasonable and unjust and after investigation to prescribe the maximum reasonable rate the road can charge, the decision to stay in effect until reversed by the courts. This very reasonable request aroused one of the bitterest fights ever known in legislative history of the nation and it required a year to get the legislation desired. In asking for it and for similar legislation, the President said: "It is because, in my judgment, public ownership is highly undesirable and would probably in this country entail far-reaching disaster, that I wish to see such supervision and regulation of them in the interest of the public as will make it evident that there is no need for public ownership."

How far-seeing the President! How blind the owners of the great railroads were! The action of President Roosevelt in 1905 and 1906 had much to do with delaying the movement for government ownership until the present time.

The President was fighting the identical forces that Bryan had been fighting, only Roosevelt fought from the White House and Bryan from

the stump. Bryan came to the President's aid and announced that he would oppose for Congress any representative or senator who did not support the President in his fight with the railroads.

We next come to the message of 1908:

"Too often we see the business community, in a spirit of unhealthy class consciousness, deplore the effort to hold to account under the law the wealthy men who in their management of great corporations whether railroads, street railroads, or these other industrial enterprises, have behaved in a way that revolts the conscience of plain, decent people."

"To permit every lawless capitalist, every law-defying corporation to take any action, no matter how iniquitous, in the effort to secure an improper profit and to build up privilege, would be ruinous to the republic and would work the abandonment of the effort to secure in the industrial world the spirit of democratic fair dealing."

"The anarchist is the worst enemy of liberty and the reactionary the worst enemy of order."

The use of the word "privilege" in the above message is significant. The President never failed to state both sides and to give the dangerous tendencies in both directions but he made it perfectly clear that he was with the movement to curb lawless wealth. It was a word which we Democrats thought we had appropriated to ourselves. It was a new word in Republican councils. It must have looked strange to reactionary Republicans to see this word written on the banners and the mottoes of the Republican party but nevertheless it was

written there by the President, and—we all hope—never to be erased.

The other significant feature of the President's message is his appeal to governmental power to right the abuses of great wealth. The reformer is often obliged to seek a law; he must ask for a new law and for the extension of the functions of government. The reactionary has a ready argument for this; he says the reformer is seeking to make men good by law and that this thing cannot be done. The reactionary is right, within limits, but the persistent demand of the reformer for law and for widening the functions of the State has behind it something more than an appeal for new or different legislation. It is based upon two fundamental political conceptions:

First: That government is the only hoop that holds society together firmly, and if society seeks to correct its wrongs it must use government as the instrument. As President Wilson said in his great book, "The State," "Government is the instrument which society uses to facilitate its purposes."

Secondly: The second fundamental conception behind the demand of the reformer is that society is a progressive, growing organism that must adapt itself to changing environment both within and without and that this adaptation is largely a legislative one—a struggle to express final human relations in law.

How far we should go in extending and broadening the control of government over property is

always a debatable question. The reactionary says that government should not interfere with property at all. The Socialist says that government should absorb and control and own all private property. The true Democrat and the true Progressive say that government should control just so much of property as is necessary to preserve liberty and promote the welfare of mankind, leaving to private initiative the widest possible field of activity.

Thus it was that the President said in his last message to Congress:—"Men of property should recognize that they jeopardize the rights of property when they fail heartily to join in the effort to do away with abuses of wealth."

"The danger to American democracy lies not in the least in the concentration of administrative power in responsible and accountable hands; it lies in having the power insufficiently concentrated."

Coming to the courts, he said:

"There are, however, some members of the judicial body who have lagged behind in their understanding of these great and vital changes in the body politic, whose minds have never been opened to the new application of the old principles made necessary by new conditions. Judges of this stamp do lasting harm by their decisions."

"It is far better from every standpoint that the remedy should come from within. Break down the barriers of privilege which is the foe of right."

The mistake which big business made was in ever challenging the President. He had the advantage of the champions of wealth for he had

the superior platform from which to fight; he was a better fighter and he was on the right side. In his long and bitter contest with the powers of privilege the President ranged himself upon the side of the Democratic party as led by William Jennings Bryan. He wrote new mottoes all over the banners of the Republican party, and when in their desperation the sinister reactionary forces that had so long controlled his party took, by fraud and stealth, a nomination from the great Republican leader, Roosevelt broke with them and established the Progressive party of the nation.

A careful analysis of the progressive platform of 1912 shows unmistakably two things: first, it was an open break with the trust-controlled boss-ridden Republican party; second, it looked in the direction of the progressive Democratic platforms written by Mr. Bryan in 1896, 1900, and 1908. For the first time, two major parties in America were competing to see which could be most truly progressive. In fundamentals, in spirit, in approach to great national issues, the two platforms were so much alike that the Bryan platforms may well be said to form the foundation or source of the Progressive platforms. Without the three Bryan presidential campaigns there would have been no 1912 progressive platform and campaign such as was witnessed.

Thus do our leaders contend against and yet for each other; thus do the stars in their courses fight for that better day for humanity for which we all strive.

V

WORLD PEACE

THE relation of Mr. Bryan to international peace lies as much in the future as it does in the past—perhaps even more so. It may require centuries for an exact and accurate determination of the tremendous influence he is wielding and will yet have upon the question of peace between nations. This question of peace between nations is so closely interwoven with the whole question of imperialism that it is difficult to separate the two. It is also interwoven with the question of industrial peace within the confines of every civilized nation on the globe.

In this chapter we propose to treat of Mr. Bryan's activities and influence upon the questions of international and industrial peace. We start with the admitted proposition that Mr. Bryan loves peace; that he loves it more than possibly anything else in this world; that he is essentially a man with the spirit of peace; that he is not a war-loving individual; that if a dispute arises between men or classes or industrial groups or nations, his instinct turns toward a peaceful settlement and not toward a settlement with force and blood. Such a man finds the source of his impulses toward peace in the doctrines of Christ and the Sermon on the

Mount. His face is turned away from the life of the jungle, where might prevails, and in the direction of the sunlight of human brotherhood.

We could write at great length upon this spirit of Mr. Bryan and its influence upon modern life in the settlement of disputes, in the effect which he has had in building up in America a sentiment opposed to war as a means of settling disputes. There is a wide field here which we cannot touch. There is room only to deal with concrete suggestions and definite activities.

The most distinct contribution which Mr. Bryan has made to the movement for international peace is found in his thirty peace treaties negotiated while he was Secretary of State.[1]

In the heart of these treaties is embodied that principle of the treaties which prohibits both of the disputing nations from resorting to arms until their grievance has been investigated by an impartial international tribunal, a world court. The plan of operation embodied in this principle was first suggested by Mr. Bryan, in an article in *The Commoner* in February, 1905, presenting the idea that it be applied to the settlement of international disputes. The idea took root at once; it began to spread and grow. It was commented upon in a great many influential journals in America and received the attention of diplomats at home and

[1] For a history of these treaties see volume issued by the Carnegie Peace Foundation in 1920 entitled, "Treaties for the Advancement of Peace Between the United States and Other Powers" negotiated by Mr. Bryan when Secretary of State; with an introduction by Dr. James Brown Scott.

abroad. Governmental authorities in all countries began to examine the proposition, and the more it was examined the more it grew in public favour. In 1906, returning from his tour of the world, Mr. Bryan attended the International Parliamentary Union in London in July of that year. He had already presented the plan at a banquet in Japan in 1905, and the world was ready for the presentation of the idea in a larger forum. At the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Mr. Bryan laid his ideas before the leaders of that body, after it had been endorsed by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister of England. In an address upon the subject, he presented a resolution favouring this method of settling disputes. The Inter-Parliamentary Union at once went on record in favour of the Bryan idea, and the International Peace Conference held in New York at a later date endorsed the plan; a public meeting in Edinburgh, composed of leaders of several bodies of religious thought from all nations, also adopted the plan.

Later, President Taft negotiated arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France; before they were completed Mr. Bryan conferred with the President and Secretary of State, Knox, and a portion of his plan was incorporated in the treaties. Still later, President Taft came to Lincoln, Nebraska, and, with that breadth and fairness so characteristic of him, in a public address generously gave Mr. Bryan credit for the idea which he had suggested as a part of these treaties. These

treaties failed of adoption, but not because of the Bryan principle for settling disputes.

In 1913 when Mr. Bryan entered President Wilson's cabinet as Secretary of State, he at once prepared to formulate treaties with all the nations of the world. He first secured the approval of President Wilson, and then, after the plan received the endorsement of the Cabinet and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, laid the proposal for the treaty embodying these principles before the representatives of practically all the nations of the earth.

Let us note two things about this act of Mr. Bryan at this particular time. First, it was thoroughly characteristic of the Democratic statesman to seek to put his principles into practice when he was once in an official position to do so. With Bryan to believe a thing, is to believe *in it*. If he holds convictions upon some public question, they really represent convictions, not mere passing fancies or notions or whims. They are not to get into office on and then to be laid aside. They are positive principles which he holds with force and earnestness. Believing these principles, he desires public office only that he may put them into effect. He regards a political platform as a pledge to the people which, once adopted, results in a binding contract with the people. There is no uncertainty, no vacillation. He has the courage of his convictions. This is the reason why certain great special interests have fought Mr. Bryan so fiercely and persistently. They know that he will not change

his convictions for mere public position; that if he is in power he will seek to carry out his principles and put them into law. They know they are dealing with a man who cannot be persuaded to trim or to deceive those who have relied upon his principles.

And yet we have here a type of radical thinking which is broadly conservative, a conservatism that moves forward only with the facts, that receives its impulses from the cries of humanity. In the light of the radicalism of the present day, we must regard Mr. Bryan as the most conservative progressive who is now conspicuous in American public life. Secondly, Mr. Bryan was made the subject of ridicule on the part of many foolish and unthinking persons. Even men in high places were inclined to look upon the Bryan Peace Treaties as a fool's errand. The late Secretary Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior in the Wilson Cabinet, voiced this feeling once, saying:

"When the Wilson administration came in Mr. Bryan became Secretary of State, and true to his principles, at once began the negotiation of treaties for the postponement of all wars until a calm judgment could be had upon their causes. Let us be frank. We of America did not take those efforts of Mr. Bryan with any high degree of seriousness. We thought him a noble-minded visionary; anyway, there was to be no need for such treaties. The bankers would not permit any war between the great nations; and if even they could not command, 'Peace, be still,' to the angry waves of war the international ties that bound all workingmen would work the

miracle. And so Mr. Bryan went about trying to do good amid the cynical smiles of those who wished him well. He was trying to bring the nations into harmony out of a common interest and sympathy, but it has been found that Fear was the cement that was needed. Yet his plan is incorporated as the first step of the pyramid of the present proposed league. He left office boasting, properly boasting, that thirty nations had signed the proposed pact. But Germany—purposeful, waiting Germany—was not one of the thirty. The Kaiser saw its drift and stepped aside. So until the war came all efforts failed save these tentative steps."

Certain men thought it was a weak and silly attempt to do the impossible. There was plenty of open criticism and laughter and more laughter in private. But almost before the ink was dry on the treaties, the guns in Europe began to thunder, and then the world began to see that once more Mr. Bryan was profoundly practical and sensible, and perhaps after all he had anticipated the supreme need of modern times.

Upon Mr. Bryan's invitation, practically all the nations of the world took up the consideration of his proposed peace treaties. These treaties were negotiated with the following countries: Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua, Netherlands, Bolivia, Persia, Portugal, Costa Rica, Switzerland, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Denmark, Italy, Norway, Peru, Uruguay, Brazil, Argentine Republic, Chile, Paraguay, China, France, Great Britain, Spain, Russia, Ecuador, Greece, and Sweden. These governments exercise authority

over three-fourths of all the people of the world. Since that time England has followed the Bryan treaty plan with Brazil, and Sweden with Chile, while Switzerland has concluded a similar convention with Germany.

Another evidence that the Bryan Treaty Plan is growing is found in a recent bulletin of the Hague Tribunal reporting unanimous agreement upon a plan for the conciliation of international disputes. The report begins:

"On behalf of the First Committee, which is unanimous, I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the draft resolution concerning the procedure of conciliation in international disputes.

"The First Committee was not able, in the course of its numerous meetings, to give satisfaction to all the hopes and opinions expressed during its discussions.

"Since then several treaties, which are known as the 'Bryan Treaties,' have been concluded. The first of these was a treaty between Great Britain and Brazil, signed, I may add, by the distinguished M. da Gama to whom I have the honour and pleasure to pay a tribute here. Next came the treaty between Sweden and Chile. In addition, I may remind you that Switzerland and Germany also have just concluded a convention dealing with conciliation in international disputes," etc.

It is significant that two great nations declined to enter into these treaties, though they did accept the principle. These nations were Japan and Germany. Had the idea become more contagious, had Germany had such treaties with the nations with

whom she was then plotting to go to war, the history of the world would have been different; and ten millions of men would probably be alive now and the world be three hundred billion dollars richer. The fundamental principles of this treaty plan are as follows:

First, that it should be applied to ALL disputes of every kind and character.

Secondly, that the investigation should be made by a permanent board whose aid could be invoked by either side at any time, and invested with authority to investigate upon its own initiative.

Thirdly, that in order to assure fairness, the board should consist of five members, one chosen by each side from its own citizens, one chosen by each from another nation and one chosen by agreement.

Fourthly, that each side should possess the right to act independently at the conclusion of the investigation and the presentation of the report, the recommendations of the commission enjoying only such force as their intrinsic merits gave them.

The heart of the treaty can be stated in three sentences:

ALL disputes must be investigated:
No war until investigation is concluded:
Independence of action after investigation.

After the negotiation of these treaties, several of the large South American nations adopted similar treaties among themselves, but it remained for the conclusion of the war to bring a real vindication of Mr. Bryan's views upon this question. President Wilson went abroad and formulated the

League of Nations into the World Peace Treaty of Paris, and the controlling principle of this League is that before the nations shall resort to war they must first wait upon the investigation of an impartial tribunal. It was quite a while before the people of the world waked up to the fact that the Bryan principle had been embodied in the Paris Covenant for the League of Nations. Indeed, it was not until President Wilson himself, with that keenness of intellect which so distinguishes him among the men of his time, pointed out this salutary provision of the Peace Treaty and called it "the very heart of the covenant," saying at Indianapolis:

"I am recalling these circumstances, my fellow-citizens, because I want to point out to you what apparently has escaped the attention of some of the critics of the League of Nations, that the heart of the League of Nations does not lie in any of the portions which have been discussed in public debate. The great bulk of the provisions of that covenant contained these engagements and promises on the part of the states which undertook to become members of it.

"That in no circumstances will they go to war without first having either submitted the question to arbitration—in which case they agree to abide by the result, or having submitted the question to discussion by the council of the League of Nations, in which case they will allow six months for the discussion, and engage not to go to war until three months after the council has announced its opinion upon the subject under dispute.

"*So that the heart of the covenant of the League*

is that the nations solemnly covenant not to go to war for nine months after a controversy becomes acute.

"If there had been nine days' discussion Germany would not have gone to war. If there had been nine days within which to bring to bear the opinion of the world, the judgment of mankind upon the purposes of these governments, they never would have dared to execute these purposes."

Public attention was then turned to the treaties which Mr. Bryan had previously negotiated, embodying this same principle. Then the tide began to turn to Mr. Bryan, and those who came to scoff remained to praise.

The Four-Power Treaty, covering disputes in the Pacific, is built upon the plan of the Bryan Treaties.

But probably the most interesting commentary upon Mr. Bryan's efforts for peace is found in the attitude of his great antagonist of so many years, Theodore Roosevelt. It is especially interesting to select the attitude of Mr. Roosevelt as a type of opposition to the Bryan idea, not only because the two men have been conspicuous leaders of two great parties and two great schools of American political thought, but because their personal careers have been so dramatically opposed to each other.

Commenting upon the Bryan peace treaties in the *New York Times,* October 4, 1914, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"The navy has done a thousand times more for peace than all the arbitration treaties and peace trea-

ties of the type now existing that the wit of man could invent.

"Recently, there have been negotiated in Washington thirty or forty little all-inclusive arbitration or so-called 'peace' treaties which represent as high a degree of fatuity as is often achieved in these matters. There is no likelihood that they will do us any great material harm because it is absolutely certain that we would not pay the smallest attention to them in the event of their being invoked in any matter where our interests were seriously involved; but it would do us moral harm to break them, even although this were the least evil of two evil alternatives. It is a discreditable thing that at the very moment, with before our eyes such proof of the worthlessness of the neutrality treaties affecting Belgium and Luxemburg, our nation should be negotiating treaties which convinced every sensible observer abroad that we are either utterly heedless in making promises which cannot be kept or else willing to make promises which we have no intention of keeping. What has just happened shows that such treaties are worthless except to the degree that force can and will be used in backing them. There are some well-meaning people misled by mere words, who doubtless think that treaties of this kind do accomplish something."

Now, without any comment whatever, let us see what Mr. Roosevelt said over his own signature so late as 1918 about an agreement for compulsory arbitration between England and America. Bearing in mind what the great Republican President said about the futility of the Bryan Peace Treaties, let us see how events changed his opinions and brought him around to the Bryan view-

point. In the *Review of Reviews* for February, 1919, at page 155, there is an article by Mr. George Haven Putnam on Roosevelt, in which he tells of visiting him at the hospital just prior to his last illness, and he quotes Roosevelt verbatim as follows:

"When I was in the White House, I took the ground that while we ought always to maintain good relations with Great Britain, it was really not possible to agree in advance that every issue that arose was to be adjusted by conference or by arbitration. . . . I have changed my mind. . . . I hold that there are, and that there can be, no possible issues between England and America or any English speaking peoples of the world, which ought not to be and which cannot be, adjusted, in the most cases by conference, and in any extreme difficulty by arbitration."

Mr. Roosevelt then wrote Mr. Putnam a letter in order that the ex-President could put himself on record, and the following quotation is taken from that letter:

"I believe that the time has come when we should say that under no circumstances shall there ever be a resort to war between the United States and the British Empire, and that no question can ever arise between them that cannot be settled in judicial fashion, in some such manner as would be settled questions between states of our own union."

Was ever vindication more complete than this? Does this language need any comment? Who has changed opinion, Mr. Bryan or Mr. Roose-

velt? Who has come over to the other's view? We do not quote this in any spirit of criticism or derogation of Theodore Roosevelt. What American is there who does not admire the lion-hearted American, the citizen and patriot who dared all in battle and who fought unflinchingly for what he believed to be right. But we are talking, now, about the soundness of Mr. Bryan's views. We are calling attention to the vindication which swiftly passing time is bringing to him, and we believe that the change of views by Theodore Roosevelt is the most remarkable personal vindication which Mr. Bryan has ever had.

VI

MONETARY REFORM

THE question of how far the Government shall control or supervise the business activities of the nation is a wide and debatable field. It is a wavering line of policy shifting with events. Arguing its respective merits divides the two schools of political philosophers—the collectivists and individualists—as sharply as any issue can divide them.

But as applied to the field of banking, currency and finance the argument is closed—the Government-control advocates have won. The whole currency fight has been a fight to extend the power of centralized supervision and control of the Federal government over the vast banking interests of the country and that has now been done. Before the last act in the great drama—the passage of the Federal Reserve Act in the Wilson administration, the banker was happy in an uncontrolled "individualism" that allowed him to roam freely over the field of American business and finance except for minor supervision, regulation and examination. His power of initiative, of uncontrolled freedom to do as he pleased was so extensive that the most extreme individualist could only

applaud it. The banker was the best, most uncontrolled individualist in the American business world. He was therefore the first to object and the hardest to reconcile to government supervision and control of his banking activities.

We could study the whole currency law fight, and Mr. Bryan's relation to it, from this angle alone but it deserves and must have wider treatment. There are three phases of the fight for monetary reform that need to be considered; first, the fight for bimetallism, the branch banks issue and the Federal Reserve Act or the currency law.

The vindication which Mr. Bryan has had in fighting for a double standard of money is much more marked than the unthinking would guess. The logic of his opponents on the money question runs like this: his first platform declared for free coinage of silver at sixteen to one and this never having been established his stand was wrong and the fight was a failure.

This reasoning overlooks the fact that the first money platform on which Mr. Bryan ran for the Presidency was much more than a mere free coinage plank; it was a protest against a then existing genuine money trust in the very strongest sense of that word. The essence of the money question lay then and does now lie in the control of the currency issues and credit of the country by a small ring of powerful banks centered in the heart of the nation's metropolis—the financial center of the world. Upon this issue Mr. Bryan first attacked the money and banking citadel. That

he was right, that events and legislation have vindicated him cannot be doubted.

In that fascinating story of his life, Henry Morgenthau, New York financier, describes the power of "Wall Street."

"The decade from 1896 to 1906 was the period of the most gigantic expansion of business in all American history and, indeed, in all the history of the world. In that decade the slowly fertilized economic resources of the United States suddenly yielded a bewildering crop of industries. Vast railroad systems were projected and built into being with magic speed. The steel industry sprang with mushroom-like rapidity into a business employing half a million men, and yielding the profits of a Golconda. The Standard Oil Company spread its production and sales to the ends of the earth. In every field of manufacture, expanding companies were brought together into great trusts to unify their finances and to stimulate their production.

"All these swift growths demanded money: money for new plants—money for expansion—money for working capital. The cry everywhere was for money—more money—and yet more money. Wall Street was besieged with a continual supplication for capital—that priceless fluid to water the bursting fields of pulsing prosperities. It is an old law that he who has what all men seek may make his own terms, and in that decade Wall Street controlled the money of America. No wonder, then, that the financiers of Wall Street leaped to a power greater for a time than the power of presidents and kings. No wonder that heads were turned, that power was abused, that tyranny developed, and that finally the nation, sensing a life-and-death struggle between capitalism and organized government itself, arose in fear and anger,

and put shackles on the money power that made it again the servant, and no longer the master, of the people.

"Let me trace briefly how this magic power was concentrated. Under the old banking system, before the passage of the Federal Reserve Act, the need for a common banking centre through which to 'clear' inter-community and inter-state debits and credits, following upon the exchange of goods and the sale of crops, led the 'country' banks all over the United States to maintain in some New York bank a considerable deposit of their funds, so that inter-bank transactions could be settled expeditiously and without cost by the simple device of drawing a draft against the New York account. The sum total of these country bank deposits in the metropolitan banks placed in the control of the New York bankers a vast reservoir of liquid capital. What should have been done with this money was to use it as the basis for financing the movement of crops in the fall and the exchange of commodities during the rest of the year. What frequently was done with it was to lend it to New York financiers for speculation in the price of crops and commodities, preventing the farmers and country merchants and small industrials from securing money at the times they needed it. Another use to which this reservoir of capital was put, was to lend it to the great industrial groups battling for supremacy in the fields of sugar, steel, textiles, railroads and the like.

"Thus arose a natural struggle between the banks and the insurance companies for the control of the finances of the country. If the bankers could control the insurance companies, they would be masters of the situation. If the insurance companies could control the banks, then the insurance company presidents would be the great men.

"What actually happened was that the banking power, instead of being all in the hands of one man, was held jointly by a group of a few men who, although they fought incessantly and bitterly among themselves nevertheless often united for common profit."

The attempt to laugh the Bryan silver adherents off the stage in 1896 was given small shrift by no less an authority than Dr. Albert Shaw, the wise and fair editor of *The Review of Reviews*, who said editorially at that time:

"The dispassionate student of the financial and monetary history of the United States since the war must conclude that the great array of citizens now fighting for the coinage of silver are contending for a cause that has been logically evolved, and that owes the strength of its support to circumstances which can be rationally explained."

In a later issue of his magazine Dr. Shaw said, editorially, that "The East" [and the financial experts and bankers] "had never given the Western supporters of silver credit for the strength of their logical and historical argument for silver."

When we couple this very fair and entirely correct view with two more facts we have the vindication complete. These two facts are the unprecedented and unexpected increase in the volume of gold since 1896 (plus the overwhelming proportion of it now held in this country) and the fact that in spite of predictions and logical demonstrations to the contrary the despised "fifty-cent" silver

dollar rose to one hundred cents in all the markets of the world between 1896 and the present hour.

In 1902 Mr. Bryan began his fight on the branch banks, contending that by multiplication of branches the banking business of the country would soon be centered in the hands of a powerful monopoly. His plea went unheard at that time but the whole question of the branch bank had to be met in American banking circles some time or other and finally became acute during the past two years. It reached a climax with the bankers of the country at the time of the convention of the American Bankers Association in New York City in October of 1922. In the greatest convention of that powerful body ever held in its history the whole question of branch banks was threshed out and settled, let us hope permanently, by a strong declaration against the branch-bank policy.

One of the really effective and conservative journals in American banking and finance is the *American Banker* of New York and in discussing the branch bank this journal said:

"National banks are prohibited from having branches by law, though hitherto some have gotten around the law by absorbing State Banks and turning them and their branches into branch offices of the national bank.

"There are twenty-two States which permit trust companies and State-chartered banks to have branches. Because such States as Ohio, Michigan and California permit State institutions to have branches national banks are being crowded off the map. So, in order to meet the competition the pres-

ent Comptroller has given a liberal interpretation to the National Banking Act, and has authorized national banks to open additional offices in States that permit branch banking.

"To stop the multiplication of branch banks effectively not only must Congress adopt a drastic act prohibiting them, but the legislatures of twenty-two States must do the same."

A protest arose from the whole country. Here are some examples of the feeling then shown:

While most of the banks that have established branches confine their activities to one city, it would not be long, said the *American Banker*, "before so-called 'offices' would spread to other towns and then our independent banking system that has been one of the best supports of the true principles of American democracy would be gone." With this the *New Haven Journal-Courier* was in complete agreement: "Nothing could be more disastrous for the common welfare than to have the thrift of the nation so concentrated in places of deposit that the control of it would remain in the hands of a few." In Texas the *Houston Chronicle* declared that if our industries "were to fall into the hands of centralized finance we could not help becoming an enslaved people, no matter what our Government might appear on paper." The *Chicago Daily News* observed that they are managed by men "at a considerable distance" who are "unfamiliar with local circumstances and inevitably lacking in sympathy with local needs." The *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*

deprecate the possible elimination of the country banker who knows his customers and is a leader in his community.

At the Bankers' Convention in New York Banker Andrew J. Frame of Waukesha, Wisconsin, asserted that our 30,000 independent banks "have done more to upbuild this powerful nation than all the cream-skimming monopolistic banks have done for other nations." Mr. Frame had reference to the "less than ten great banks" which now "dominate the whole banking power of France and Germany," the five great banks which control "over eighty-six per cent. of Great Britain's banking power" and Canada where "some seventeen central banks now skim the cream from over 4,600 branches, leaving only the skimmed milk for the rural and suburban populations."

But the final chapter on banking and currency was written with Mr. Wilson in the White House and Mr. Bryan at his side in the Cabinet when the Federal Reserve Act was passed by the Democratic Congress, signed by a Democratic President and is now and forever the law of the land.

In the passage of this great constructive measure, Mr. Bryan may very properly claim his share of the credit and no one who assisted in the legislation at that time will ever deny it to him. Mr. Bryan's advocacy of the currency law and especially of that portion of the law providing for a government-issued and government-controlled currency constitutes an important chapter in his political work. While he did not draw the currency

bill he had given his views to Chairman Glass more than a year before, stressing the importance of government notes loaned to the banks instead of bank notes issued by the government. But for some reason the bill as introduced did not reflect these views but provided for bank notes, as the banks desired.

But Mr. Bryan had planted himself on unanswerable Democratic ground in advocating government currency.

The Democratic platform of 1896 contained, as its currency plank, the following:

"Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We, therefore, denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by the National Banks, as in derogation of the Constitution and we demand that all paper which is made legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for duties to the United States shall be issued by the Government of the United States and shall be redeemable in coin."

The platform of 1908 said:

"We believe that in so far as the needs of commerce require an emergency currency, such currency should be issued, controlled by the Federal government and loaned on adequate security to the National and State banks."

And thus armed with the gospel of Democracy as declared in its platforms, Mr. Bryan was to

bring the President around to his stand. President Wilson learned of Mr. Bryan's opposition to some provisions of the bill, sent for him and expressed the hope that he would support the measure. Mr. Bryan explained to the President that the bank-note provision was in conflict with the position of the Democratic party from Jefferson down and in conflict with the platforms upon which he, Mr. Bryan, had been a candidate. Secretary Joseph P. Tumulty, in his book, "Woodrow Wilson as I Knew Him," thus describes what followed:

"In the committee on banking and currency in both the Senate and the House were many friends of Mr. Bryan, who thought that his radical views on the money question could be used as a rallying point for opposition to the President's plan for currency reform. But those who counted on Mr. Bryan's antagonism were doomed to disappointment and failure, for while it is true that Mr. Bryan found serious objections to certain parts of the bill, when those were eliminated he moved forward with the President in the most generous fashion and remained with him until the Federal Reserve Act was made part of the law of the land. . . .

"There was an interesting incident in connection with the handling of the currency legislation that brought about what threatened to be the first rift in the President's cabinet. It concerned Mr. Bryan's attitude of opposition to certain features of the bill as drafted by the Banking and Currency Committee of the House. My connection with this particular affair arose in this way: in the early stages of the discussion of the Federal Reserve Act, and while Mr. Glass's committee was considering the matter, a

messenger from the White House informed me that the President wished to confer with me in his study. As I walked into the room, I saw at once from his general attitude and expression that something serious was afoot and that he was very much distressed. Turning around in his chair, he said: 'It begins to look as if W. J. B. (he thus referred to Mr. Bryan) and I have come to the parting of the ways on the Currency Bill. He is opposed to the bank-note feature of the bill as drawn. We had a long discussion about the matter after Cabinet meeting to-day. In thoroughly kindly way Mr. Bryan informed me that he was opposed to that feature of the bill. Of course you know, W. J. B. and I have never been in agreement on the money question. It is only fair, however, to say that in our discussion Mr. Bryan conducted himself in the most generous way, and I was deeply touched by his personal attitude toward me. He even went so far as to say that in order that I might not be embarrassed in the handling of the bill, he was willing to resign. . . . In the meantime, Mr. Bryan has promised to say nothing to any one about the matter until he has a further discussion with me.'

"The President then frankly discussed with me the effect of the possible resignation of Mr. Bryan. The President suggested that I drop in on Mr. Bryan very soon and if possible casually invite a discussion of the Federal Reserve Act, telling Mr. Bryan of his (the President's) interests in it, and how much he appreciated Mr. Bryan's personal attitude toward him.

"I realized the seriousness and delicacy of the situation I was asked to handle, and, being on the friendliest terms with Mr. Bryan, I telephoned him and invited myself to his home—the old Logan Mansion, a beautiful place in the northwest part of Washington. I found Mr. Bryan alone when I arrived.

We went at once to his library and, in a boyish way, he showed me a picture which the President had autographed for him only a few days previous. As we stood before this picture Mr. Bryan gave expression to his sincere admiration and affection for the President. He related, with deep feeling, how much Mr. Bryan had enjoyed his contact and official companionship with him and how he had come to have a very deep affection for him. As we turned away from the picture, he grew serious and began the discussion of the very thing upon which the President and I had conferred only a few hours before. He freely discussed his differences with the President over the Federal Reserve Act, and asked me the direct question: 'Who from Wall Street has been discussing this bill with the President? I am afraid that some of the President's friends had been emphasizing too much the view of Wall Street in their conferences with the President on this bill.' I frankly told Mr. Bryan that this imputation did a great injustice to the fine men with whom the President conferred on the matter of banking reform and that I was certain that the President's only intimate advisers in this matter were Mr. McAdoo, Senator Owen of Oklahoma and Mr. Glass of Virginia, and that I personally knew that in their discussions the President never argued the point of view of the Eastern financial interests. Mr. Bryan was reassured by my statement and proceeded to lay before me his objections to the character of the currency issue provided for in the bill. He then took from the library shelves a volume containing all the Democratic National Platforms and read excerpts from them bearing upon the question of currency reform. He soon convinced me that there was great merit in his contention. Before leaving him, I told him of my interview with the President, and how deeply distressed he (the President) was that Mr. Bryan was not disposed to support him

in the matter of the Federal Reserve Act. It was evident that Mr. Bryan felt a keen sympathy for the President, and that he was honestly trying to find a way out of his difficulties that would enable him to give the President his whole-hearted support. He showed real emotion when I disclosed to him the personal feelings of the President toward him, and I feel sure I left him in a more agreeable frame of mind. I told him that I would talk with the President, Mr. McAdoo, and Mr. Glass and report to him on the following day.

"I returned to the President's study and reported to him in detail the results of my conference with Mr. Bryan. I called his attention to Mr. Bryan's criticism of the bill and then ventured the opinion that Mr. Bryan, according to the traditional policy of the Democratic party, was right in his attitude and that I felt that he (Mr. Wilson) was wrong. For a moment the President showed a little impatience with this statement and asked me to point out to him where the party in the National Platforms had ever taken the view Mr. Bryan indicated in his discussion with me. I then showed him the book Mr. Bryan had given me containing the Democratic platforms and he read very carefully plank after plank on the currency. He finally closed the book, placed it on his desk, and said: 'I am convinced there is a great deal in what Mr. Bryan says.' We then discussed ways of adjusting the matter. I finally suggested that the President allow me to talk with Mr. Glass and place before him Mr. Bryan's position and that he have Mr. Glass confer with Secretary McAdoo and Senator Owen. This was arranged. I had no way of ascertaining just what took place at this conference, but after the Cabinet meeting on the following Tuesday Mr. Bryan walked around to where the President was sitting and said to him: 'Mr. President, we have settled our differences and you may

rely upon me to remain with you to the end of the fight.' The President thanked him cordially, and thus the first break in the Cabinet line was averted."

It should be said that those who know of the attitude of the two Houses of Congress at that time believe the bill would not have passed as it was prepared and ready to be submitted. Mr. Bryan pointed out a vital defect in the bill and by securing a change, made the passage of the bill a certainty. He is therefore entitled to at least a share in the credit for the most important economic measure of the Wilson administration. After twenty years the Chicago platform plank relating to the issue of currency (then so bitterly attacked and abused) was vindicated. And this was a plank of the Chicago platform which Mr. Bryan himself had written.

It is enough to add that the currency law won only after the hardest fight the money power of the United States ever made against a measure. Its operation has shown it to be one of the greatest pieces of monetary legislation ever placed upon the statute books of any nation in history; it has disproved the dire predictions of the bankers of the country who so bitterly opposed it; it has proven the financial salvation of America in the great World War and since that time. No one would now think of repealing this act; it is on the statute books of the country for all time.

VII

FOUR GREAT REFORMS

IT is one of the chief glories of America that we can achieve our reforms and change the policies and institutions of the country whenever we can convince a majority of our fellow-citizens that we are right.

Nothing is more attractive and fascinating in all human history than this fight for humanity, for great issues of right and justice; for public welfare. Behind it lies a wealth of Anglo-Saxon history, of early sacrifices of our forefathers, here and in England, for free speech and a free press; buttressing it are our constitutional safeguards of free speech and press and assemblage and our well-known constitutional modes of shaping legislation and changing our institutions. We are apt to lose sight of the vital significance of these fundamental constitutional safeguards if we merely give them stereotyped praise or recite them by rote. Their real significance does not become striking until we see them in some dramatic historic setting; a Pym or a Hampden defying a tyrant Stuart; a Cromwell striking for human rights; a Garrison fighting for the slave with weapons of the press; asserting his undying right to speak against human wrong; a Lincoln in Cooper Union, declaring that "right makes might" and thus laying down the rule of

right for all future generations of men. In crises like these we see the value of constitutional safeguards and we thank our forefathers for erecting and adopting them.

In other words, it takes "reforms" and "reformers" to truly show the permanent values underlying that remarkable fabric of human right and political justice known as the American Constitution. In the light of American history one wonders how organizations can ever spring into being, under our flag, which advocate sabotage or the torch or bomb. One wonders, too, why free speech is ever curtailed for a single moment in America. It is the greatest safety valve in the world and it is, moreover, a constitutional safety valve.

This is our approach, then, to a consideration of Mr. Bryan's relation to four great reforms in American life—the election of Senators, the Income Tax, Prohibition and Suffrage Amendments to our Federal Constitution. Mr. Bryan would be the very last man to claim undue precedence in advocating these reforms. He above all men recognizes and pays tribute to the early pioneers who laid the foundations for our later successes along moral lines. But that he contributed powerful support and was a dynamic influence in the adoption of these four amendments no American of his generation will deny.

Popular Election of Senators

Mr. Bryan began his work for Constitutional

reform with the advocacy of the popular election of Senators. His Congressional platform in 1890, on which he first ran for Congress, contained the following plank: "We favour an amendment to the Federal Constitution which will take the election of United States Senators from the state legislatures and place it in the hands of the people where it belongs." In 1892, during his first term in Congress, he voted for the resolution proposing such an amendment. This was the first resolution ever passed by either House on this subject. Andrew Johnson recommended this change in a message to Congress:

"Experience seems to have established the necessity of an amendment of that clause of the Constitution which provides for the election of Senators to Congress by the legislatures of the several states. It would be more consistent with the genius of our form of government if the Senators were chosen directly by the people of the several states. The objections to the election of Senators by the legislatures are so palpable that I deem it unnecessary to do more than submit the proposition for such an amendment with the recommendation that it be offered to the people for their judgment." (From "Messages and Papers of the Presidents." Vol. VI, p. 642. From Message of President Andrew Johnson, to Congress, July 18, 1868.)

About 1882 James B. Weaver, then a member of Congress from Iowa, introduced a resolution proposing an amendment of this kind. Bryce mentions this resolution in his "American Commonwealth."

The Senate took no action upon the resolution passed in 1892 but it was introduced again and passed through the next Congress. These two Congresses were Democratic. In 1894 the Republicans obtained control of Congress and two Congresses went by before the resolution was again passed by the House. It was again ignored by the Senate. After that, two other Republican Houses passed a similar resolution and still the Senate refused to concur.

In the meantime, Mr. Bryan had secured the incorporation in the Democratic platform of 1900 a plank favouring popular election of Senators. This plank was reiterated in 1904, 1908, and 1912. The Democratic platform of 1900 said, "We favour an amendment to the Federal legislation providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people."

Platform of 1908: "We favour the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people and regard this reform as the gateway to other national reforms."

In 1904 Senator La Follette introduced a resolution in the Republican National Convention endorsing the popular election of Senators, but his plank was defeated by a vote of seven to one.

In 1910 the Democrats again secured control of Congress and a resolution proposing this amendment was passed by the House for the sixth time (the first, second, and sixth Congresses were Democratic; the third, fourth and fifth were Republican). This time the Senate yielded and the

Amendment was submitted to the states. It was ratified within a short time and it became the very pleasant duty of Mr. Bryan to affix his signature to the last document necessary to make this amendment a part of the Constitution. This was done in April, 1913, soon after he entered the State Department.

Here is the record. When a young man of thirty he began the championship of this important step toward more popular government—a step that brought the Senate into harmony with our theory of government. He began advocating the reform two years before it was ever endorsed by any Congress. He voted for it in the House the first time it passed a branch of Congress; he wrote it into four national platforms of his party and then signed the proclamation that published the fact that it had been adopted as part of the Constitution.

At first the reform attracted little attention—it never did secure the endorsement of a Republican national platform. It was even defeated, as above stated, in a Republican National platform twelve years after it was twice endorsed by Democratic Congresses and after it had been twice endorsed by Republican Congresses. Now it is a part of the Constitution and there to stay. This may be called the first vindication of an important reform with which Mr. Bryan was identified—was, in fact, an influential factor.

The Income Tax Amendment

During Mr. Bryan's second term of Congress he

was a member of the Ways and Means Committee (as he was also during his first term). The Wilson Bill contained an income tax clause. Mr. Bryan was on the sub-committee (composed of Congressman McMillan of Tennessee, Congressman Montgomery of Kentucky, and Mr. Bryan) which prepared the income tax part of the law. During the discussion in the committee it became known that President Cleveland was not favourable to the income tax, and that the Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle, did not want it included in the law with the tariff schedules. Fearing that it might be vetoed if it was passed separately, Mr. Bryan circulated a petition calling a caucus and in the caucus secured the passage of a resolution making the income tax law a part of the revenue bill. This insured its passage. The President allowed the revenue bill to become a law without his signature.

Mr. Bryan took charge of the debate on the income tax portion of the bill on the floor and answered the leading argument from the other side presented by the late Bourke Cockran. It is not necessary to refer to the history of the income tax before the court, resulting in nullification of the law at a second hearing of the case. Justice Jackson was not present at the first hearing when the vote stood four to four, thus affirming the validity of the law. At a rehearing Justice Jackson voted in favour of sustaining the income tax law but one of the other justices had changed his mind between the two hearings of the case and his vote turned

the decision and the law was declared unconstitutional.

Bryan's platform, the Chicago platform of 1896, contained a plank on the income tax and the platforms of 1900 and 1908 also declared for an income tax; the plank in 1908 declared specifically for an amendment to the Constitution authorizing an income tax. In 1904 Mr. Bryan made a fight for such a plank in the Resolutions Committee of the Parker convention but failed. Some of the committee insisted that, though they favoured an income tax, they thought it unwise to declare for it in that campaign when they were making a special bid for the New York vote.

In the campaign of 1908 Mr. Bryan's platform declared in favour of an income tax amendment to the Constitution while Candidate Taft contended that the Amendment was not necessary, expressing the opinion that an income tax could be secured by statute whenever it became desirable. Mr. Taft was elected and then recommended the submission of an income tax amendment. It is believed that he thought its submission necessary to defeat a statutory income tax which was agreed upon by the Democrats and progressive Republicans as an amendment to the Aldrich bill. Here we have a Republican President taking up Mr. Bryan's plan to defeat the plan proposed by this very same Republican, viz., a statutory income tax.

The amendment was ratified and during the first term of Mr. Wilson's administration an income tax law was passed in which the maximum rate was

fixed at ten per cent.—five times as high as the two per cent. rate in the law of 1894. During the war the surtaxes carried the income tax rate to sixty-five per cent. on the largest incomes.

Here we have the second Constitutional reform in the securing of which Mr. Bryan took a prominent part. While the fight for the income tax amendment began several years after the fight began for the election of Senators by direct vote, it was ratified two months earlier—in February, 1913. If ratification had been delayed for two months, Mr. Bryan would have had the honour of announcing the ratification of this amendment as he did the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment.

In what then—may we ask—does the vindication of Mr. Bryan consist? In these two things: that, having begun the fight almost single-handed, for these two great reforms he waged a successful fight, secured the adoption of the two great measures through amendments to the Federal Constitution, convinced his opponents and the nation that he was right and wrote his ideas into the fundamental law of the land; second, in the fact that the two measures, once adopted, are now admittedly valuable reforms, that they have secured the approval of a vast majority of the citizens of this country and that their repeal is not seriously discussed by any one or by any party.

Without the income tax this nation could not have made wealth pay its just share of the cost of the war or of government. The income tax,

like popular election of Senators, has come to stay and its wisdom and beneficence will grow upon the matured judgment of the nation through the coming years. Mr. Bryan may well rest his case for vindication upon these two great measures alone.

Woman's Suffrage

Take down from your library shelf a history of the life of Frances E. Willard or Anna Howard Shaw. Read it carefully and thoughtfully, for it bears the moral impress of some of the greatest of our American women. It is more than that; it is a reformer's epic. It vindicates our American theory of government as nothing else can do for it describes the early beginnings of the great fight to make the nation dry and to give the ballot to women. No one can read these life histories and be discouraged over the early stages of any reform. There is tonic in these pages, not alone in contemplating the life of these remarkable women, but also in contemplating the marvellous power of right to triumph over all manner of vicious influences, over wrong-thinking majorities; over elements that profit from wrong and hate the right. It ought to rob every un-American group in our country of their desire to win by any other method than the sound constitutional method of convincing, by reason, a majority of their fellow-countrymen.

Be it said to the credit of the American women that they won their fight for the ballot by clean, sane, conservative, American methods.

No sooner had suffrage been thrust upon the national stage where it clearly occupied a pre-eminent place than Mr. Bryan took his stand upon the issue, and it was a characteristic message he gave. "I shall claim no privileges for myself that I do not ask for my wife," he announced.

In 1914 the suffrage amendment was submitted to the voters of Nebraska, and Mr. Bryan's participation in the suffrage fight began when this amendment was submitted. He canvassed the state in the interest of the amendment and between 1914 and 1916 he spoke by invitation in a number of states where the amendment was an issue. In 1916 he campaigned in nineteen Western states, several of which had adopted woman suffrage. In all of his speeches Mr. Bryan defended the Democratic position on the subject which went a little further than the Republican National platform and also the attitude of the President on that subject. While Mr. Bryan did all that he could by speeches and through his paper for the suffrage amendment, his contribution to the adoption of this amendment was not as great, relatively, as to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth amendments. But it is characteristic of Mr. Bryan that his support of a proposition is either all or nothing; it is whole-hearted if given at all. There is nothing negative in his make-up nor in his advocacy of measures. If he favours a proposal the whole country will know where he stands and precisely the same may be said if he opposes a measure. It is interesting to note that in over thirty-three

years of national fame and on all national issues raised in that period not one of his fellow-countrymen has ever been in doubt as to where he stood; no one has ever had to ask what his words meant nor has he ever been accused of "pussy-footing" or "trimming" upon any issue. This is a certificate of straightforwardness, of genuine character that has endeared him to the American electorate, regardless of party.

The Mother Argument

The strongest argument ever advanced by Mr. Bryan in behalf of suffrage is his "mother argument," as made in his Washington speech in 1916, and it is reproduced here because it presents the subject in what he regarded as the strongest light. Said he:

"The strongest argument in favour of woman suffrage is the mother argument. I love my children —as much, I think, as a father can; but I am not in the same class with my wife. I do not put any father in the same class with the mother in love for the child. If you would know why the mother's love for a child is the sweetest, tenderest, most lasting thing in the world, you will find the explanation in the Bible: 'Where your treasures are there will your heart be also.'

"The child is the treasure of the mother; she invests her life in the child. When the mother of the Gracchi was asked: 'Where are your jewels?' she pointed to her sons. The mother's life trembles in the balance at the child's birth, and for years it is the object of our constant care. She expends upon it her nervous force and energy; she endows it with

the wealth of her love. She dreams of what it is to do and be—and, oh, if all of a mother's dreams only came true, what a different world this would be! The most pathetic struggle that this earth knows is not the struggle between armed men upon the battle field; it is the struggle of a mother to save her child when wicked men set traps for it and lay snares for it. And as long as the ballot is given to those who conspire to rob the home of the child it is not fair—no one can believe it fair—to tie a mother's hands while she is trying to protect her home and save her child. If there is such a thing as justice, surely a mother has a just claim to a voice in shaping the environment that may determine whether her child will realize her hopes or bring her gray hairs in sorrow to the grave.

"Because God has planted in every human heart a sense of justice, and because the mother argument makes an irresistible appeal to this universal sense, it will finally batter down all opposition and open woman's pathway to the polls."

Mr. Bryan felt that in adopting woman suffrage he would also greatly aid prohibition and help to promote world peace. He regarded the saloon and war as the two greatest enemies of the home. In this position he is seeing his views vindicated with a larger and yet larger number of the American people turning against war as a means of settling international difficulties, and with an almost unanimous voice against the return of the saloon.

Everywhere a larger percentage of women than men support prohibition and everywhere the sentiment against war has been stronger among women than among men.

Prohibition

Mr. Bryan occupies a unique place among the advocates of Prohibition. He would doubtless modestly defer to that brave and numerous band of early pioneers on this issue who fought its battles for a half century before the present generation came into being. To those early pioneers all of the present-day prohibitionists must give place.

Mr. Bryan has, however, two distinctions regarding Prohibition and the vindication that is coming daily to him in advocating this reform and no one will ever seek to rob him of them; in the first place he was the first Presidential candidate of either of the two great parties who ever took a stand upon National Prohibition prior to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. In the second place he was the first national political character to take a stand for prohibition and throw the weight of his great influence and matchless eloquence in favour of this great reform. These two historic facts give Mr. Bryan a high place among those to whom must be given credit for the adoption of National Prohibition. Compared, then, with any other of the national political leaders and their stand on prohibition Mr. Bryan may be counted a pioneer in the fight.

Mr. Bryan has been a total abstainer from youth but his fight against the saloon did not begin actively until 1910. When the question was up in Nebraska in 1890 he favoured a high license law that had recently been enacted in Nebraska in

preference to State Prohibition as then proposed—the adjoining states of Kansas and Iowa had prohibition at that time but made no pretense of enforcing it. For twenty years after that the question was not an issue in the nation or in Nebraska.

About 1908 county option began to be suggested as an improvement over town option as it then existed in Nebraska. Mr. Bryan had been from 1896 an advocate of the initiative and referendum. The Nebraska platform of 1908 declared for the initiative and referendum and the Democratic legislature elected that year would have submitted the amendment providing for the initiative and referendum but for the fact that a few Democratic Senators, controlled by local liquor interests, repudiated the platform. Mr. Bryan found that an outside liquor organization was attempting to control the nomination of Democratic Senators with a view to secretly pledging them against the initiative and referendum. He, therefore, entered the fight, informing the representatives of the breweries that, if they would not permit the adoption of the initiative and referendum lest it should result in the submission of county option, it would be necessary to pass county option first in order to clear the way for the initiative and referendum.

He was absent from Nebraska on a trip to South America during the early part of the year and was, therefore, at a disadvantage in the fight but he raised the standard against the domination of politics by the liquor traffic and carried the fight to the state convention where he was defeated, and

temporarily lost the leadership of his party in Nebraska.

This fight within his own party over county option marked the real beginning of Bryan's fight to make America dry. It was an interesting and significant contest. The liquor interests with their usual keenness recognized the danger to their interests in the opposition of Bryan.

They determined to defeat him in his own state, to destroy his leadership in the Democratic party in Nebraska and to destroy him as a national figure in his own party as well. They openly announced this as their avowed purpose.

Mr. Bryan accepted their challenge. He published their threat in a conspicuous manner and announced that "if the liquor interests can make good their threat to destroy me politically, my death will be a warning to the fathers and mothers of the power of this foe to the home and to American life."

The fight was on. It is ended now but instead of Bryan being politically dead and the liquor interests standing triumphant over the body of their fallen foe we find the liquor interests banished from American life and Mr. Bryan an active and indispensable figure in the councils of his party in the nation.

Two years later the liquor interests opposed him as delegate to the national convention but he was elected in spite of this opposition, running about five thousand ahead of his ticket. After his return from Baltimore the liquor interests attempted

to repudiate his action at Baltimore. In this they failed and Mr. Bryan's course was endorsed by the state convention. From this time on the fight grew more and more bitter. In the campaign of 1914, he visited several states in which the prohibition question was an issue. He refused to be drawn into the discussion of the question because he was helping to secure a Democratic Congress in order that the program of the Wilson administration might be completed during the second half of his term. He found, however, that it was impossible to get a hearing on other issues where the people were voting on prohibition and at the conclusion of the campaign he announced through his paper that he would favour Prohibition wherever it was an issue. In 1915 he spoke for the prohibition amendment in Ohio and after that in other states but did not favour making it a national issue until after the campaign of 1916 on the ground that without being able to secure the adoption of the amendment the prohibition issue would divert attention from the economic questions the people were considering. In 1916 state prohibition was an issue in Nebraska and he canvassed the state for it. The Wets defeated him for delegate to the Democratic National Convention that year.

As soon as the campaign of 1916 was over he announced himself ready to aid in the securing of national amendment and proceeded to support this amendment in speeches throughout the United States. When it was submitted he spoke for ratification in a number of states. It so happened that

Nebraska was the thirty-sixth state to ratify; thus, by a happy accident, his own state completed the requirement of the Constitution and made the Eighteenth Amendment a part of the organic law of the land.

It was upon the submission by Congress of the Eighteenth Amendment to the states that Mr. Bryan received what is perhaps one of the finest recognitions of his service to the cause of the people that has ever come to him. Recognizing his invaluable services in influencing Congressmen to vote for submitting the amendment to the states, the national leaders of the Anti-Saloon League of America presented him with the following address:

"HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN,
Miami, Florida.

"*Dear Mr. Bryan:* As general superintendent, legislative superintendent and legislative committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, we wish to express to you our very great appreciation of the service you have rendered in helping to secure the adoption by Congress of the resolution for national prohibition.

"As democracy's greatest prophet of reform you have many times rendered conspicuous service for the right; never more so than in the present case. During all the recent months leading up to the final battle, your voice has sounded the high note of idealism in this fight for humanity, has inspired your friends to confidence and enthusiasm, and has sent the shock of alarm throughout the ranks of the liquor forces. This period of continued and distinguished service found fit completion in your great address

last Wednesday night at the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church and the overflow meeting at the First Presbyterian Church before the annual convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America; in your return to the national capital for the final struggle in the House, and in your history-making and memorable reply to Mr. Gompers which, added to your unquestioned influence with the members of the Congress, did so much to put the cause of temperance and prohibition 'over the top.'

"But we must not undertake to recount your services. We wish only on behalf of ourselves and our constituency to express to you our heartiest congratulations and good will and our deepest sense of appreciation for your great service.

"Generations yet unborn will rise up to call you blessed. Women and children without number who have had to sit in sackcloth and ashes, robbed of their right and despoiled of their best treasures by the greedy, conscienceless, lecherous traffic in strong drink, will not cease to thank God that He sent you to help proclaim the day of their deliverance.

"May your 'bow abide in strength.'

"Sincerely and respectfully yours,

"P. A. BAKER, general superintendent; JAMES CANNON, JR., chairman; A. J. BARTON, EDWIN C. DINWIDDLE, legislative superintendent; WAYNE B. WHEELER, secretary; ERNEST C. CHERRINGTON. Legislative Committee of Anti-Saloon League of America."

Mr. Bryan was one of the company of supporters of this amendment who gathered in Washington on the sixteenth of January, 1920, to celebrate the passing of the United States from the old era to the new. The leaders of the movement unanimously invited him to occupy the place of

honour at this meeting and make the last speech before the nation became saloonless. He began at twenty minutes after eleven and talked until twelve, when the audience rose and greeted this great change with the Doxology. Mr. Bryan reserved his text until one minute before twelve and then announced it: " They are dead that sought the young child's life "—prefacing the announcement with the statement that, since King Alcohol had slain a million times as many children as Herod did, no more appropriate words could be found. Mr. Bryan's activity in the cause of Prohibition covered a period of about ten years, from 1910 to 1920 when the Constitutional Amendment went into effect.

This is the third of the Constitutional reforms to which he gave powerful aid. When he began his attack upon the liquor traffic he allied himself with a very unpopular group but he lived to see the sentiment grow, expand, and become victorious. His judgment as to the desire of the American people was again vindicated.

Those who believe in the policy of National Prohibition—and they are now a majority in America—will rejoice that Mr. Bryan threw the weight of his vast influence into this fight against the saloon and in favour of national morality. Those who still favour the saloon and the wet policy bitterly denounce him for the fight he has waged against the liquor interests. But there can be no question of the final result or the final verdict of public opinion in America upon this matter

nor of the final effect of the policy of national prohibition upon America and the world. The growing, swelling tide of sound public opinion favourable to the policy of prohibition will yet encircle the earth. The vindication that Mr. Bryan and the friends of prohibition are yet to receive for the achievement of this great reform will be difficult indeed to estimate. Neither in the present generation nor in those immediately to follow will we see the full fruition of this great advance in national morality and individual purity. This reform is too fundamental, its effects strike too deep into the vitals of our public and personal life; it cuts out a cancer too deeply rooted for the full measure of this great advance to be apparent now. Only in the long sweep of the ages and in the light of a new day; of higher morality, a keener conscience, a higher conception of human welfare upon the part of all men, can the peoples of the world see the full meaning of the banishment of liquor from our civilization. The saloon is doomed. As Mr. Bryan well said in his most recent utterance upon this matter:

"Our government is in the hands of the people, and the people will use the government for the protection of their rights and for the advancement of their welfare. Alcohol as a beverage has been indicted as a criminal, brought up to the bar of judgment, condemned, and executed. Our nation will be saloonless for evermore and will lead the world in the great crusade which will drive intoxicating liquor from the globe."

VIII

THE BRYAN OF TO-MORROW

THERE is something epic about the career of Mr. Bryan in American politics; something that defies analysis or definition. It links us with a distant past, an age in politics so remote (as political time goes) that we feel we are almost in touch with Civil War days.

Bryan was first elected to Congress in early November, 1890, nearly thirty-three years ago. He was then thirty years old. At practically the same time, over in Wales, a young Welsh lawyer was being chosen for the first time to sit in the English House of Commons. This was Lloyd-George, three years younger than Bryan, and destined to stay in Parliament until he became Prime Minister in the most critical and fateful hour in English history. Indeed, the two careers and the two personalities have much in common, in their espousal of the cause of the common people and their eloquence on the stump and in the tribune.

When Bryan entered Congress on the first Monday in December, 1891, he began a national political career with a group of men scarcely one of whom is now living and only two of whom are still in Congress. Glance at the roll of Congressmen who walked down the aisle of the House and

took the oath with Bryan. The House membership has entirely changed and only two remain in the Senate. Among them were Charles F. Crisp, the Speaker, William M. Springer and Robert R. Hitt of Illinois, B. F. Shively, W. D. Bynum of Indiana, and Wm. S. Holman, the "Watch dog of the Treasury" from the same state; Jonathan P. Dolliver and David B. Henderson of Iowa, Bourke Cockran of New York, Richard P. Bland of Missouri, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, and Roger Q. Mills of Texas, all famous in their day. Joseph G. Cannon, who had been in several earlier Congresses, was out that term, it being one of only two times he had ever failed of election. Only Cannon and Henry Cabot Lodge remained. Cockran died during the last session, while Lodge has been in the Senate from Massachusetts for many years, and Cannon has left the House.

Over in the Senate Chamber on the same day, pointed out in the cloak rooms and from the galleries, we find the following leaders of an age past and gone: Frye and Hale of Maine, George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, Henry M. Teller of Colorado, James K. Jones of Arkansas, Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, Frances E. Warren of Wyoming, the only surviving member at this time; George Q. Vest of Missouri, Platt of New York, Quay of Pennsylvania, John T. Morgan of Alabama, Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, Wm. B. Allison of Iowa, Shelby M. Cullon of Illinois, Daniel W. Voorhees of Indiana, John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, Arthur Pue Gorman of Maryland, Ed-

ward D. White of Louisiana, later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Aldrich of Rhode Island, Daniel of Virginia and John Sherman of Ohio.

Benjamin Harrison was President, and Grover Cleveland, a practicing lawyer in New York City. Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft were both in Washington—Roosevelt as Civil Service Commissioner and Taft as Solicitor-General of the United States. Warren G. Harding was editing a paper in Marion, Ohio, Woodrow Wilson had just begun lecturing on politics and jurisprudence at Princeton University. When Bryan first ran for the Presidency in 1896, at thirty-six years of age (just within the Constitutional limit), these men held their positions mentioned here, save that Cleveland was President and Roosevelt Police Commissioner in New York. Will H. Hays, who became Republican National Chairman and, later, a Cabinet member, was of high-school age in Indiana as was James M. Cox out in Ohio. Mark Hanna was a capitalist in Cleveland, Ohio, and the then chairman of the Republican National Committee. Charles E. Hughes was a practicing lawyer in New York City, and Elihu Root led the New York Bar.

Four years in Congress and a brilliant, fighting speech full of fire and forensic eloquence at the National Democratic convention at Chicago made Bryan the nominee of his party for the Presidency and projected a new personality into national politics, a personal force not to be displaced during the next thirty or forty years.

We must not lose sight of the deep significance of the Chicago convention on the future policies and fortunes of the Democratic party of the nation. It cut far deeper than was then seen. Two things have come out of it; First, the permanent alignment of the party on the side of the common man as against privilege and wealth. The Democratic party there became a genuinely radical or progressive party, for the first time since the days of Andrew Jackson. This is the normal position of the Democratic party—it has no part in Wall Street traditions or policies; it is the peculiar champion of the common people of America, the great middle and labouring classes. As Mr. Bryan so wisely said in an address in Boston in 1902: "There is no room in America for two aristocratic parties; one aristocratic party is enough. The mission of the Democratic party is to serve the common people."

In 1912 Governor Wilson—then a Presidential candidate—said at Lincoln, Nebraska, "The Democratic party is free to serve the people; and Mr. Bryan made it free."

This is the true and historic mission of Democracy. Once or twice it has swung from this position when the Eastern wing of the party dominated it and named the candidate and wrote the platform (and led it to disastrous defeat), but the Eastern adherents of the party are following a name and a tradition rather than a deep-seated principle, unless they follow in the direction Bryan and Wilson are leading. They have little in common with the

average Democrat and unfortunately they do not seek a common view-point. But under the aggressive and advanced leadership of Bryan in three campaigns and through the two terms of Woodrow Wilson the party was given a definite set toward doctrines that favour equal privileges and opportunities instead of special privileges, and the party resumed its normal course and pursued its true mission.

The second result of the Chicago Convention was to give a new leader to the party in the person of Mr. Bryan and his was almost an undisputed leadership from 1896 to 1916. The longevity of Bryan's public career surprises us quite as much as his political vitality. There is an element of humour in the various obsequies that have been so frequently held over his political remains. Even some of his close friends have conceded his political death and mournfully attended the final ceremonies. Vain illusion! No political leader dies who stands in the front of, instead of behind, the political procession; whose face is to the future and whose ideas are ahead of his time. The only political interments are those of men who have not kept pace with the thinking of the generation in which they lived—men whom the great procession has passed and who do not know it. Such a man buries himself and often preaches his own funeral sermon. This helps to explain the political vitality of Mr. Bryan and when we add to this an engaging personality, a philosophical cheerfulness over numerous defeats that would have broken other

men, sterling character, a supreme gift of eloquence that is unequalled in the present generation and perhaps not surpassed in any age of the world, we have a combination that explains much of the Bryan leadership that persists so amazingly and with such unpleasant consequences to his political enemies.

The failure of Bryan to attain the Presidency is classed with that of Clay and Blaine, and there is much in common in the types of men involved and the campaigns each appeared in as candidates.

But two distinctions are worth noting: First, Clay did his work as a member of the Senate except when he was Secretary of State; he was in office during his entire public career. This may be said, substantially, of Blaine. But Bryan was in office only four years as a Member of Congress and two years and three months as Secretary of State. Bryan's work has been done almost entirely as a private citizen, aided, of course, by the prestige gained in three Presidential campaigns. Secondly, it is historical fact that Clay and Blaine both had the support of the moneyed element, Clay always fighting with the rich Northern Protectionist Whigs, the manufacturing element of the country, and Blaine fighting for the same interests, the same protected manufacturers, the hard money element, the big banks and the big business of his day, the Republican party being the historic successor of the Whig party.

Bryan had no moneyed interests behind him, no

great journalistic interests, and fought single-handed the greatest combination of money and special interests probably that the world has ever seen. His career proves that a young man does not need great newspapers or money influence, in order to rise in the world, and that is a salutary lesson sadly needed in American politics just now.

Indeed, when we take the great triumvirate of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, we find that these men did their work as public officials, holding high office, while Mr. Bryan's work has been done on the stump and by his pen, by the sole power of meeting, talking with, and convincing his fellow-men that his cause was just—the sole method that ought to be employed in a democracy, for democracy is government by discussion.

Here is a career without a parallel in American politics. It began with a Presidential nomination just within the constitutional age limit of thirty-six, and has extended now for nearly thirty years, in national party leadership at all times in the direction of advanced reforms to aid the common people of the nation. It is a purely progressive career from the beginning to the present time. Moreover, and most important of all, in the career of no other American statesman has there been so much that he advocated embodied in the fundamental law of the land. No other American political leader has seen so many of his own ideas adopted in his own time as has Mr. Bryan.

I shall not attempt to discuss the possibilities before Mr. Bryan; to-morrow is a long word. He

is now sixty-three and, apparently, in perfect health. On Memorial Day, 1894, when he was thirty-four and a member of Congress, he made a speech at Arlington. Secretary Gresham and President Cleveland were present and rode home together in a carriage. A third party in the carriage, reporting the conversation that took place, quoted Secretary Gresham as saying of Mr. Bryan, "We can be sure of one thing; while he lives he must be reckoned with as a force in American politics."

The prediction has proven true during the twenty-nine years that have elapsed since it was made—is there any reason why it should fail during the years of his life that remain? He has made three memorable campaigns for the Presidency and has played a prominent part in three national conventions at which he was not a candidate.

At St. Louis in 1904 he returned to the party the commission that he received in 1896, in a sentence which has been quoted many times:

"Eight years ago a Democratic national convention placed in my hand the standard of the party and commissioned me as its candidate. Four years later that commission was renewed. I come to-night to this Democratic national convention to return the commission. You may dispute whether I have fought a good fight, you may dispute whether I have finished my course, but you cannot deny that I have kept the faith."

At Baltimore in 1912 he made his greatest

parliamentary fight, overthrowing New York's influence and committing the party to the progressive platform carried out under President Wilson.

Mr. Bryan grasped every dramatic and political element of significance in the situation of this memorable Convention. Before leaving the closing scenes of the turbulent Republican Convention at Chicago, he wired every Democratic candidate for the nomination asking if they favoured Alton B. Parker for temporary chairman of the Democratic National Convention, whose choice had just been announced by the Democratic National Committee? Bryan protested against the Parker choice on the ground that he was the representative of the Wall Street interests, and offered to join them in a protest.

It was a situation exactly to the taste of the practical politician; a situation in which expediency demanded evasion or acquiescence in the Parker choice. The politicians proved themselves unusually short-sighted and they jumped at the Bryan bait. One and all they wired, either as candidates or the representatives of candidates, that they were keeping hands off; that the choice lay with the National Committee, that Parker had supported Bryan in 1908, and that they would not interfere.

Some of the Wilson convention managers advised a similar telegram and certainly there were strong arguments for such a course. They are said to have even suggested a rough draft of such a telegram to the New Jersey governor. But the

sage of Princeton was about to show his superiority over the mere politicians. Wilson was too farsighted for any such performance. He chose principle at the risk of apparent disaster, and the ultimate triumph vindicated his judgment.

To his Convention managers gathered at his home he said, "The American people expect more of me than that," and seating himself on the edge of his bed with pad and pencil he wrote the following fateful words, in reply to Bryan:

June 22, 1912.

HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN:

You are quite right. The Baltimore convention is to be a convention of progressives—of men who are progressive in principle and by conviction. It must, if it is not to be put in a wrong light before the country, express its convictions in its organization and its choice of the men who are to speak for it. You are entirely within your rights in doing everything within your power to bring that result about.

No one will doubt where my sympathies lie, and you will, I am sure, find my friends in the convention and always in the interest of the people's cause. I am happy in the confidence that they need no suggestions from me.

(Signed)
WOODROW WILSON.

The vote on the fourteenth ballot had been reached; it showed Clark 554½, Wilson 356. No other candidate for a Democratic nomination for President in a hundred years had ever come this near the two-thirds necessary to a nomination

without receiving it. The fateful hour had come. The bosses were gleefully chuckling over the humiliation of Bryan, the overthrow of the independent progressive elements of Democracy, and over in the woods at Oyster Bay walked Theodore Roosevelt, more deeply concerned than any one, while one of his sons is reported to have told the newspaper reporters, "Pop's praying for Clark."

Again the careers of Bryan and Roosevelt were to cross each other and this time Bryan was to win.

We quote from the official report of the Convention:

"MR. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, of Nebraska (when his name was called). Mr. Chairman.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Nebraska rise?

MR. BRYAN OF NEBRASKA. To explain my vote.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. Regular order!

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the rule nothing is in order by the calling of the roll. How does the gentleman vote?

MR. BRYAN OF NEBRASKA. As long as Mr. Ryan's agent—as long as New York's ninety votes are recorded for Mr. Clark, I withhold my vote from him, and cast it.

(At this point there was a demonstration.)

* * * * * * *

"Speaking for myself, and for any of the delegation who may decide to join me, I shall withhold my vote from Mr. Clark as long as New York's vote is recorded for him." (Applause.) "And the position that I take in regard to Mr. Clark I shall take as to any name that is now or may be before the convention. I shall not be a party to the nomination of any man, no matter who he may be, or from what section

of the country he comes, who will not, when elected, be absolutely free to carry out the anti-Morgan-Ryan-Belmont resolution, and make his administration reflect the wishes and the hopes of those who believe in a government of the people, by the people and for the people." (Applause.)

The Clark tide was stayed—the Wilson vote began to rise.

Mr. Bryan triumphed over the bosses and reactionaries of his party and by his action secured the nomination of a progressive leader for President by the progressive delegates, thus making the party an instrument for social, political and industrial justice in the years to come.

At San Francisco in 1920 he made a fight for five amendments to the platform:

DRY PLANK: We heartily congratulate the Democratic party on its splendid leadership in the submission and ratification of the Prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution and we pledge the party to the effective enforcement of the present law, honestly and in good faith, without any increase in the alcoholic content of permitted beverages and without any weakening of any other of its provisions.

NATIONAL BULLETIN: We favour a national Bulletin, not a newspaper, but a Bulletin, issued by the Federal Government, under the fair and equitable control of the two leading parties, such Bulletin to furnish information as to the political issues of the campaign, editorial space and space for presentation of claims of candidates proportionately divided between the parties.

PROFITEERING: The Democratic party pledges the

nation to rid it of the profiteer and to close the door against his return. It will endeavour to eliminate all unnecessary middlemen by the encouragement of organizations among producers that will bring those who sell and those who use nearer together. It will enact and enforce laws that will effectively prevent excessive charges by such middlemen as are necessary. To this end it will demand legislation subjecting to the penalties of the criminal law all corporate officers and employees who give or carry out instructions that result in extortion; it will make it unlawful for any one engaged in Interstate Commerce to make the sale of one article dependent upon the purchase of another article and it will require such corporation to disclose to customers the difference between cost price and selling price or limit the profit that can be legally charged as the rate of interest is now limited. It will also endeavour to create in the several states trade commissions with powers as ample as those of the federal trade commission and to enact laws authorizing each local community to create, as needed, similar commissions for the investigation of local charges of profiteering.

COMPULSORY SERVICE: We are opposed to universal compulsory military training in time of peace.

TREATY PLANK: The Democratic party demands an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the ratification of a treaty by a majority vote, so that it will be as easy to end a war as it is to declare war. Planting ourselves upon the most fundamental principle of popular government, namely, the right of the people to rule—a doctrine in support of which we have recently spent over twenty-five billions of dollars and for which we have sacrificed 100,000 precious lives—we favour an immediate reconvening of the Senate that this principle may be applied to the treaty controversy and ratification secured with such reservations as a majority of the Senators may

agree upon, reserving for the future the making of such changes as we may deem necessary.

We favour the appointment by the President with the consent of the Senate of delegates to represent this nation in the league until regularly chosen delegates are elected and qualified.

We favour the selection of the nation's delegates in the League of Nations by popular vote in districts in order that the people may speak through representatives of their own choice in the august tribunal which will consider the welfare of the world.

These delegates should be instructed not to vote for war without specific instructions from Congress or from the people, given by referendum vote.

Our nation's delegates should also be instructed to insist upon the disarmament of the world in order that the burden of militarism may be lifted from the shoulders of those who toil and the foundations of an enduring peace laid in friendship and coöperation.

Who doubts that the party would have fared better if it had incorporated these planks?

There are many and great problems before the nation; Mr. Bryan is identified with every one of them. James Bryce says: "In the United States there are comparatively few persons who devote themselves to constant thinking about public affairs and who endeavour to form the opinion of the nation." Mr. Bryan is one of the few who answers this description; for a quarter of a century he has studied and discussed public questions and aided in the formation of public opinion.

If there is any attempt to overthrow prohibition, Mr. Bryan may be relied upon to defend this highest expression of the nation's conscience. In

all the efforts that our nation may make for the promotion of world peace Mr. Bryan can be counted upon for assistance.

In response to a speech in which a friend expressed regret that he had not been rewarded with the Presidency, Mr. Bryan said, "My place in history will depend, not upon what the people do for me but upon what I do for the people." There is a world of meaning in this sentence. It expresses the fundamental idea of service to humanity embodied in the language of the Master when He gave the world a new standard of greatness: "Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant."

Mr. Bryan's work has been even broader than the political field. He has lived in the arena of politics, national and international, but reserved time for church duties and religious addresses. His weekly Bible Talks are published in newspapers having a circulation of about four million. These and his religious books and lectures are causing him to be increasingly known as a Defender of the Faith. Above and beyond all other things, he is a believer in God, the Bible, and Christ.

Mr. Bryan's influence will not end with his life. Unless we are greatly mistaken, it will increase as time brings greater vindication to the principles which he has advocated. We all recognize how difficult it is for a public leader to be appreciated justly and thoroughly in his own time and especially when he is in advance of the time. The

record preserved in these pages of the actual vindications his views have received during his own lifetime, the actual words of his one-time opponents, the steady and relentless march of events which have proven him right and left his scoffing opponents in ridiculous despair—all of this we have set down for the present generation to read.

But no man who is in advance of his time can expect a full vindication in his own generation and no wise advocate of reforms does expect it. It is probably quite within the truth that Mr. Bryan's ideas have become popular and received a vindication faster than he himself anticipated. But even vindication in itself does not measure the height and depth of this personality and this life. For the life is something greater than the career, the ideas, the principles that may have been advocated. Only in the ripened years, in the full fruition of time, can we measure this career. It cannot be adequately done now. We can only take a partial measurement and indicate the scope and direction of the influence of this life and spirit upon the nation and the race. It may be long after Mr. Bryan's death ere there come upon the world the peace he longed and worked for; a nation calm in its peace with all other nations; Christ's love in the hearts of men, of nations, of capital and labour; a real, genuine brotherhood of man. Only in generations yet to come, maybe, will his peace treaties hold the nations in chains of law and order and brotherhood, bringing them to peace courts and world parliaments; when war with all its blood-

red horror will be remembered as a hideous dream and nation will be linked to nation in the bonds of love; when America will confirm with unanimous voice her adherence to national prohibition and political purity.

Only then will the ideas and ideals and impulses of this life which we have studied here receive due appreciation from the hearts of men. Thus it is that Mr. Bryan's friends may regard without impatience all the passing storms of criticism and foolish words and misunderstanding often so willingly created against him. Ridicule and invective are but the passing breath of the moment's storm; only the truth, only the good survives and abides. Webster reminded his hearers in the Senate in his great reply to Hayne that "the past, at least, is secure." With Mr. Bryan's career we may add that the future also is secure. No matter how deeply his life has touched and influenced his own generation, it is destined to influence generations who will never know him in the flesh.

And this is immortality indeed.

Printed in the United States of America